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CV:

Kul Bhushan Mohtra was born on 9th Sep, 1957 in a village Amuwala in Kathua district.

Matric from BOSE, Jammu and Adeeb from AMU. Has been awarded Honorary Professor by School of Liberal Art & Languages, Shobhit University, Gangoh, Distt. Saharanpur, U.P.

Director General, Raja Ram Mohan Roy Library Foundation nominated him as his nominee in the Committee for purchasing of Books for UT Jammu & Kashmir. Incharge of Nanaji Deshmukh Library & Documentation Department at BJP state HQ in J&K.

Actively engaged in political, social, charitable and religious activities. Always striving to serve the poor and downtrodden of the society.

Main works-

A saga of Sacrifices: Praja Parishad Movement in J&K

100 Documents: A reference book J&K, Mission Accomplished

A Compendium of Icons of Jammu & Kashmir & our Inspiration (English)

Jammu Kashmir ki Sangarsh Gatha (Hindi)

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No. 333





## on Flag:

Our national flag is an emblem of the aspiration & ways of lofty ideas of four million people of the State. The plough on it represents the peasants who form the major bulk of the population, the red colour stands for the labourers & the three stripes represents J & K & frontier districts which constitutes State.



Part of the Tribune 8/6/1952/

Sheikh Abdullah remarked that it represented the aspirations, ideals & hopes of the State people.

### Significance

Sheikh Abdullah explained that the white plough stood for the किसान who formed the overwhelming part of the State's population, & represented labourers of three distant white vertical stripes of equal width symbolised three geographical divisions of the State, namely, Jammu, Kashmir & Frontier districts.

Sheikh said, "Kashmir suffered worst from exploitation during centuries of its slavery. People of the State rose in 1931 to break the shackles of slavery."



R.

The special rights & privileges  
Subjects of the permanent Res.  
the state which have been  
by the Committee on F. R.  
are a legacy of the & citizenship,  
invidious. When it is remembered that  
rights of citizenship have the  
other Indian citizens. These  
rights and privileges can clearly be  
of a temporary nature. Now that  
the broad outline of the State Constitution  
has been drawn up, - the State C. A.  
should lose no time in enacting  
the Constitution. The B. P. Committee  
& the Advisory Committee on F. R.  
& citizenship have, on the whole  
given a correct lead to the C. A.  
of the State. These Committees have  
squarely faced the implications of  
the State's accession to India, of  
democratic govt. for the people  
& of the diversity of culture  
in the various regions  
of the State.



C-4

1953

Statesman

26-3-53

Kashmir's New Constitution  
By End of year

Jammu March 24

Regional Autonomy

It is reliably learnt that the Sarda  
principles Committee is considering  
the question of granting "regional autonomy"  
within the framework of the Constitution  
to different "cultural regions" of the  
State.

Statesman

12-4-53

Constituent Assembly

Expenditure

Jammu April

The J & K. Legislative Council  
Assembly met as the C.A. here



day for half an hour only & sanctioned its expenditure for the next financial year.

A sum of Rs 3, 60, 675 was estimated to be ~~be~~ spent for this purpose.

Indian Express Delhi

21-10-53 Shimoga Nov. 20

The State C. A. today reconstituted four Committees of the Assembly.

The <sup>reconstitution</sup> ~~Resolution~~ was necessitated by the detention of some of the members of Committees.

When the Assembly met, B. K. Ashi Goudam Mohd moved: This Assembly resolves that the Basic principle Committee as appointed by the Assembly by its Resolution dated Nov. 7, 1951 be reconstituted with the following members panel of members in place of the existing personnel of the Committee."



Mr. Darim, the Revenue Minister moved:  
"This Assembly resolves that the Advisory  
Committee regarding F. Rs & citizenship  
as appointed by the Assembly by its resolution  
date Sept. 7, 1951, be reconstituted  
with the following panel of members in  
place of the existing personnel of the  
Committee." He read out the names of  
15 members, when the motion was  
passed.

Gurulam Rasool Ranzu, Deputy Develop-  
ment Minister, will work as secretary  
of the Committee.

Mr. Sham Lal Saraf, development  
Minister moved that "This Assembly  
resolves that a Steering Committee  
be appointed for the duration of the  
assembly."

Mr. D. P. Dhar, Deputy Home Minister  
then moved: "This Assembly resolves  
that the Drafting Committee as



53

appointed by C. A. by its resolution

of June 10, 1952 be reconstituted with a new panel of members in place of the existing personnel of the Committee. He read out the name of seven members

X

Damon Karach

Nov. 8, 1953

Abdullah asked to sit in 'C.A.'

Plea refused

New Delhi Nov. 7. According to U.P.G. reports reaching Delhi from Srinagar, Sheikh Abdullah is understood to have written from his detention camp to premier Nehru & Mr. G. M. Sadiq, president of the Indian C. A., seeking facilities for his participating in the C. A. proceedings.

According to the same



reports, constitutional experts in  
Srinagar hold the view that the state  
law does not permit a prisoner or  
detainee of the C.A. or legislative body.

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Indian Express

5-12-1953.

Kashmir Consensus by

By-Election

Srinagar Dec. 4. By Election to the  
Kashmir C.A. for the Ramhal  
Constituency seat (Hindwara Tehsil)  
caused vacant by the resignation  
of Mr. Maqbool Mohd Shah, will  
be held next month.

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Times of India Delhi

Dec 10, 1953

Kashmir Body on Basic principles

Basic principles.

22 More Members Co-opted.

Jamm Dec. 9

A joint session of the 21 member Basic principles Committee and the 15 member Advisory Committee on F. R. & citizenship was held here today under the presidentship of Kashmiri premier, Bakshi. Orkulam Mohammad. Mr. G. M. Sadiq, president to the C. A., was present by special invitation.

Later, Mr. Qasim, Revenue Minister, told newsmen that the proposal to appoint sub-committees had been dropped & instead 22 more members had been co-opted & the Committees would be meeting jointly every day to ensure their activities in individual association with the framing of Kashmir's Constitution from the very beginning in conformity with their



political ideal of new Kashmir.

Indian Express

11-12-1953

Simple Constitution for Kashmir.

Jammu. Dec. 9.

State's new Constitution should be simple & legal complications should be avoided as far as possible so that the common man could understand it," said Baldev Singh Guleria, Chairman of B. P. Committee, while addressing members of both the B. P. & R. R. S. Committees.



Tribune Ambala.

Dec. 16, 1953

Constitution For J & K.

Provisional Draft Evolved.

Jammu Dec. 15.

The Basic Principles Committee and the Advisory Committee on F. Rs and citizenship, which are holding joint session here these days, have evolved a provisional draft Constitution for the State of J & K. It is reliably understood.

out of 75 members of the Kashmir C. A 53 are members of these two bodies.

The draft proposals of these two Committees will form the basis of further deliberations concerning the future Constitution of the State, including the definition of rights of a "State Citizen".

In the absence of Bal喀什 Ghulam Mohal, who is touring Jammu's northern hilly



tracts the Revenue Minister, Mr  
Mir Asim is presiding over the  
joint sessions of two  
Committees. Justice Shahmiri  
the Constitutional Adviser, is also  
understood to be helping members  
in elucidating various points.

Although everything is being  
done 'in Camera' & nothing is  
yet final, members make  
little secret of their determination  
to give top priority to steps for  
the implementation of Indo Kashmir  
Agreement & to secure maximum  
of "local autonomy" for different  
regions of the State.



Indian Express Delhi

Dec. 17, 1953

## Discussion on Kashmir Cultural Units Autonomy.

Jammu Dec-16. A joint meeting of the Basic Principles & F-Rs Committee of the Consensus was held here today.

Some members are understood to have expressed the view that the future Constitution of the State should be so framed as to give the maximum possible autonomy to different cultural units of the State.

A member pointed out that the principles of autonomy for different regions had already been accepted in both New Kashmir Programme of the National Conference & the policy statement adopted by the Consensus. It was also stressed that while the domination



of one group over the other should  
be totally absent. The unity of the  
state must be symbolised by the  
Constitution. It was however agreed  
that opinion of some legal & constitutional  
experts should be sought while  
framing the Constitution. Accordingly  
a Committee of constitutional &  
legal experts was asked to draft  
the broad outlines of the future  
Constitution for the state.

X

Times of India Delhi -

Dec. 22, 1953

MR. G. M. Rajpouri

wins Seats

Kashmir By-election

He was the only candidate



to fill his nomination papers  
for the by election from the  
Rahmal Handwala Constituency.

The seat was rendered vacant  
by M. Conference member, Ichwaja  
Yalgami, who resigned four  
weeks ago to protest against  
Sheikh Abdul Wahid's arrest.

C-4.

1952.

Tribune

2-8-1952.

Sardar - i - Jammu.

A Kashmiri

Designation For elected Head  
of State.

New Delhi August 1 According

to a report received from Srinagar  
to-day, the U. C. A proposes to  
designate the elected head  
of J & K as Sardar-i-Jammu



and Kashmir."

-X-

Tribune - 2-8-1952.

① Bombay August I Yuvaraj Karam Singh Regent of Kashmir, told the U. P. I have to-day that he had not yet made up his mind whether or not to acquiesce to be the first elected head of the state.

"I am still considering the various aspects of the proposals which is a very delicate one" he said.

→ The Maharaja Yuvaraj declined to disclose the Maharaja's wishes in the matter. He however, contradicted a Srinagar report, appearing in a section of the press, that the Maharaja might threaten to disinherit the Yuvaraj if he accepted the



new Office which would give rise  
to complications regarding the Conti-  
nuance of the title of the Maharaja  
& his Rs 9 lakh privy purse.

"It was all fabrication," he

said

The Yuvraj disclosed that  
he would meet the Premier of Kashmir  
Sheikh Abdullah, and discuss the  
issue with him."

Delhi Express.

(2)

4-8-1952.

Laram Singh urged to Accept  
offer.

It is learnt, here that some  
influential public leaders of the  
State are urging the Yuvraj to  
agree to be elected head of  
the State.



Tribune

27 11-8-1952.

(3)

Srinagar Aug. 9.

Yovaraj Karam Singh, Regent of the J & K state, on his return from Bombay discussed with the Kashmiri Sheikh Abdullah certain points regarding the appointment of the head of the state.

Talks will be resumed after the return of M. R. D. P. Das, Deputy Home Minister who has gone to Delhi to consult the Govt. of India on the draft proposals to be brought in the forthcoming session of Kashmir C. C. A in this connection.

Meanwhile certain influential Muslim leaders of Srinagar are reported to have requested the Yovaraj to accept the offer of being the first head of the state made by P. M. Mehru.



It is further stated that the  
Yadavraj has also received a representation  
from Buddhist Buddhist leaders of  
Ladakh to expedite his decision  
in view of the fact that his appointment  
by the president of Indian Republic  
as the head of the state will maintain  
the integrity of the state of J & K.

⑤ ⑥ Tribune Amhalei  
15-8-1952.

Cashmir's state president

Srinagar August 10. The united press  
of India understands that the  
elected head constitutional head  
of J & K state is likely to be  
called the state president.



Tribune, 12-8-1952.

(4)

Head ship of Kashmir State.

Karan Singh still Hesitant.

New Delhi August 11. Prince Karan Singh is still hesitant to permit himself be nominated for the headship of J & K State, according to the latest advice from Srinagar.

Utmost pressure is being exerted on him to accept the high position from highly influential quarters in New Delhi & Srinagar; but the Dogra leaders in Jammu seem to be against his becoming a "tool" in the hands of the Kashmir N. Conference.



Tribune

13-8-1952

Nehru's Correspondence with Karan  
Singh  
Prince may accept offer.

New Delhi Aug 12 - Highly reliable

Sources indicate that letters have been exchanged between P. M. Nehru & Prince Karan Singh, Kashmir Regent, after Mr. Nehru's talks with Sheikh Abdullah about the elected head of the state of J & K. It is understood that Mr. Nehru wrote to Prince Karan

Singh about his being elected the head of the state by the C. A., in accordance with the wishes of Sheikh Abdullah & other Kashmir leaders.

Prince Karan Singh seems to have asked for clarification regarding the position, status, functions & powers of the Elected head.

The sources said while the Prince had not yet given his consent, it is highly probable that he would



abide by Mr. Nehru's wishes.

Radhakrishnan's Mission To  
Kashmir Successful

Headship of State

Yuvraj May visit Delhi.

Srinagar August 18. Dr. Radhakrishnan has, it is stated here, proved successful in his efforts for mediation between Yuvraj Karam Singh & Sheikh Abdullah on the question of headship of the state. The India vice-president will report to P. M. Nehru. This is second time that Dr. Radhakrishnan is playing a mediatory role.

Yuvraj Karam Singh is expected to visit Delhi shortly - unless some last-minute change is made.



Dr. Radhakrishnan held a number of meetings with the yuvraj & Sheikh Abdullah both of whom are reported to have explained their respective viewpoints to him.

The yuvraj insists that he would not be prepared to accept the offer unless his status, functions & responsibilities are clearly defined in the constitution, now being drafted by the State Assembly.

⑧

H.T.

21-8-1952.

Kashmir Regent meets Nehru.

To Accept or Not to Accept Headship is still the question.

New Delhi. Aug 20 - with in a few

hours of his arrival in the Capital this afternoon, Yuvraj Keshan Singh, met Prime Minister Nehru in connection



with the question of his acceptance of the offer to be the elected Head of the State.

Apparently, the mediation of Dr. Radhakrishnan has failed to resolve his doubts.

-x-

⑧ Tribune - 21-8-1952.

Head of State To be Called

"Sadr-i-Riyasat"

Srinagar Aug. 20. The head of the State of J & K will be designated as "Sadr-i-Riyasat" according to the resolution introduced today in the C. A. by Mirza - Afzal - Beg Chairman of Drafting Committee & Revenue Minister.

The resolution proposed that the head of the State shall be elected by ballot by the Kashmir Legislative Assembly. The Assembly Recommendation



will be submitted to the Indian Union President.

The resolution said that the head of the state shall be the person recognised by the President of the Union & shall hold office during the pleasure of the President. Normally, he will hold office for five years.

The resolution laid down that the head of the state will be entitled to such emoluments, allowances & privileges as the Constitution would provide, & pending the framing of the Constitution to such emoluments & privileges as the Assembly should decide by a separate resolution.

Until a Constitution was framed the 'Sadr-i-Riyasat' shall exercise such powers & functions as were hitherto exercised by the Maharaja under the State Constitution Act, as amended last year, the resolution added.



The resolution authorised the premier to send a copy ~~of it~~ <sup>of it</sup> to the Union President for favour of appropriate action to enable its being given effect to.

A schedule attached to the resolution prohibited a member of state Leg-Assembly Legislature from holding the office of Sadr-i-Riyasat."

The resolution was second by Mr. L. Dogra

⌘  
(19) H.T. 22-8-1952.

Head of state for Kashmir.

Consent Assembly Adopts Resolution.

Srinagar Aug. 21 The Kashmir

C.A. today unanimously adopted Draft Committee's report & Mr.

M.A. Beg's resolution making the office of the Head of the state elective.



The resolution, which was moved in the House yesterday, was discussed & passed today after accepting two minor amendments proposed by members.

The new elected head of the state will be called Sa Dar-i-Riyasat & will be recognised by the President of India on the recommendation of the State Legislative Assembly.

Until the State's new Constitution is passed, he will exercise the same powers as are enjoyed by the Maharaja under the interim Constitution promulgated last year.

(19)

National Herald

Lucknow.

23-8-1952.

New Delhi Aug. 21. Yuvaraj Karan Singh, the regent of Kashmir had prolonged discussion this morning with the State Minister Dr. K. N. Katju, and in the evening with Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar. Yuvaraj



Karam Singh is expected to stay in Delhi till the return of Pt. Nehru & Maulana Azad from Srinagar

(13) (14)

Tribune - 23-8-1952.

Yuvaraj yields to persuasion

Urgent letter from Azad

Nehru busy with talks on Kashmir problems.

Srinagar. August 22.

Till late last night Pt. Nehru was in conference with Sheikh & his Cabinet colleagues at Chashma Shahi House, in Srinagar, discussing the various political problems confronting the

State. Maulana Azad is stated to have been present during the discussions.

According to a highly reliable source, among other things the situation arising from Yuvaraj Karam Singh's



hesitation to accept the offer of elected head-  
ship of state was discussed at some length.  
In this connection it is understood that  
M. Azad has sent an important Communi-  
cation to the Kashmir Regent now  
in Delhi. Though the contents of the  
communication are not known, it is  
believed that a favourable situation  
has arisen as a result of which  
the Yuvraj may ultimately accept  
the office.

### Yuvraj yields

our Jammu Correspondent  
writes: Hard-pressed by circumstan-  
ces, Yuvraj Karan Singh, it is  
stated, by knowledgeable  
quarters, is yielding to persuasions  
to accept the office of being  
the first elected Head of J &  
K. State

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Tribune —

(15)

29-8-1952

yuvraj's invitation to Jammu  
leaders.

Invitees in Dilemma.

Jammu Aug 28.

yuvraj Karan Singh's invitation  
to some prominent citizens of  
Jammu for consultation & 'advice'  
before accepting the headship of  
the state, had placed the  
invitees in a dilemma.

The reaction is somewhat  
mixed.

It will be recalled  
that some top leaders of the  
P. P had in their speeches  
openly threatened the yuvraj  
with a boycott in case he  
accepted the offer of the  
head of the state.



Tribune 30-8-1952

Communist turns down invitation

Jammu Aug. 29 - Com. Dhanwantri  
Communist party leader in J & K  
& Shri G. L. Anand, president  
Jammu Chamber of Commerce,  
here, it is learnt, declined  
the invitation of Y. Karam Singh  
to go to Srinagar for consultation  
on whether the Y.K.S. should  
accept the offer of becoming the  
first elected head of the  
State.

Press information Bureau

J & K. Govt

(note to be published or broadcast  
before 10 P.M. on Monday the 1st



Sept 1952)

the full text of an I D Day  
message broadcast from  
Radio Kashmir by  
Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah.

The Hindustan - Madras.

7-9-1952.

yuvraj talks with Parishad  
leaders.

— But no decision

Tribune



(25)

9-9-52.

Wazir Ganga Ram's  
talk with yuvraj.

Ser. Sept. 9 - Mr. Ganga Ram, former  
Home Minister of J & K has talked  
told y. k. s. that C. A. does  
not represent Jammu.



Province."

Mr. Ganga Ram, who was an elected member of the old state legislature & Home Minister in old regime, had gone to Con Jer on invitation to Srinagar to confer with the YUVKaj.

We also told the YUVKaj that till the Maharaja's case & his representation to the Indian Govt were decided, it was premature to give any opinion regarding the regent accepting the elected headship.

Delhi Express Sept. 29, 1952

Harish Singh's acceptance of State's headship may be delayed  
Dispute over property claims by  
Hari Singh

dispute is reported to have been  
arisen between the former



Ruler & the Govt. of Kashmir  
over certain properties

The Govt., it is stated is  
willing to hand the ownership of all  
the palaces to the Ruler, but is not  
inclined to give away its rights over  
the land & movables claimed by  
the Maharaja.

Secondly, no settlement has been  
arrived at over the privy purse as  
yet. The Govt. is willing to contribute  
Rs 6 lakh & wants the other half  
to be paid by the Govt. of  
India.

Thirdly, serious split threats  
over the claim of the Kashmir  
Govt. to the Dharamarth fund.

The contention of the Kashmir Govt.  
is that the fund is being  
utilised on subversive activities  
of the P. P.



Times of India

5th Nov. 1952

Sat. Nov. 4.

The institution of monarchy will breathe its last in J & K on Nov. 17 when a new head of the State known as "Sadar Riyasat" will be installed on that day. Mr. K. Singh, as he will be known from that day, will be sworn in by Chief Justice Wazir, Monday Nov. 17 has been declared a public holiday.

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J & K. Govt.,  
Kashmir Bureau of Information  
New Delhi

Election of Sadar - i - Riyasat

Prime Minister's Statement in  
the Assembly Srinagar Nov. 14,

1952.



" This Assembly has to day added  
a bright chapter to the history of  
the State

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Tribunal.

(27) (18) 14-11-52.

Ikaran Singh only candidate  
for Head of Leashme.

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Prig. Nov. 13.

The election of Y. K. Singh  
as the first head of state — is now  
practically certain as his  
was the only nomination paper  
for this office received  
by Mr. G. M. Sadiq.

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Hindustan Standard Delhi

(16)

Nov. 15.

Y. K. S. electee

S-C-Riyasat.

Swearing-in - on Monday.

Supreme fulfilment of  
people's Aspirations.

Sdg. Nov. 14 - Amidst of unprecedent  
cheers The 21 years-old Y.K.S.  
was today unanimously elected  
the first S-i-R of J & K  
State by the C. A.

Addressing the Assembly after  
the announcement of the election

Sheikh. Mohd. Abdullah, Kashmir

P. M. said that the event

signified the Supreme  
fulfilment of the aspirations  
of our people.



Today the fight for freedom  
waged by the people has been  
brought to a successful  
culmination, as complete powers  
& sovereignty have been transferred  
to their chosen representatives, who  
in the exercise of their power  
are electing, for the first  
time the Head of the State.

Photos Tribune  
(17) Nov. 15, 1952.

for emblem's

H. Standard

NO 17

for Swearing

Times of India

18-11-52



(13) H. Standard

Nov. 19.

Mr. Abdullah to form new Govt.,  
formal submission of Resignation.

Sdg. Nov. 18. The Chief Minister of  
Jammu & Kashmir, Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah, today  
formally submitted the resignation  
of his five-man Cabinet to the  
S-C-D.

This was necessary as the  
Govt. was holding office under  
the Maharaja's proclamation  
of March 5, 1948 which became  
inoperative with the replacement  
of the Maharaja by an elected  
head of state yesterday under  
new Constitution.



# - Standard

(19)

Nov. 19, 52

S-C-R of Kashmir

✓ Nehru's statement in House of people.

The p.m., Nehru, told the House of people on Thursday that the election of S-C-R of J & K did not detract in any way from the constitutional powers of Statute-Status of the president.

Tribune

20-11-52

Abdullah elected party leader



# Free Press Journal

14-4-52.

## Feet of Clay

Sheikh Abdullah, the Kashmiri, premier, revealed the working of his mind in a recent speech.

He has sought to correct himself by a subsequent speech, but he has been honest enough to admit that the report of his earlier speech was factually correct.

The burden of Sheikh Abdullah's speech was that, though Indian <sup>proposes</sup> possesses to be a secular state, in fact, it falls short of its perfection.

Communalism, according to Sheikh Abdullah was present in India, he as the leader of the Kashmiri people owed a duty to protect the state from inroads by India's Communalism.

Sheikh Abdullah sought to appease Nehru by declaring his implicit faith in his leadership but <sup>he</sup> questioned India's secular character.

Sheikh Abdullah added insults to injury in seeking to distinguish between Nehru and the Indian people.



Sheikh Abdullah's remarks coming as they do, other India's general elections and the rout of the Communal parties at the polls, shows that he was giving expression to a deep-rooted prejudice and not to any conclusion reached through any rational process.

We, see no need, however, for the Indian leaders to be upset by Sheikh Abdullah's sentiments.

So far as India is concerned, she has pledged herself to give the people of Kashmir the right to decide their future.

Kashmir does offer certain strategic security lies in her own strength. Kashmir needs India's support more advantages to India, but can do without them.

The key to India's security lies in her own strength. Kashmir needs India's support more than India needs Kashmir's assistance.



Sheikh Abdullah, who claims freedom for Kashmir, must concede to India equal freedom to determine the final terms of Kashmir's accession to India.

Sheikh Abdullah, like all idols, has broken his feet of clay. India will not fail to take due note of it.

X  
Indian Express

Madras.

14/6/52.

✓ Ending Monarchy in Kashmir

✓ Nehru in Agreement with principle.

New Delhi. June 13, The decision of the Kashmir. C. A. yesterday to terminate the institution of hereditary rulership of J & K State, came up today before the Congress party in parliament. P. M. Nehru is reported to have expressed his agreement, as a general principle, to the ending of monarchical rule.



The P. M., is understood to have explained to the members that India had accepted the principle of the Kashmir people drawing up their Constitution, through their C. A & also deciding about the future of the ruling dynasty. The C. A of Kashmir was therefore within its rights to decide on the issue in principle.

Indian Express Madras  
14/6/52

### Constitutional Complications

New Delhi. June 13. Several Constitutional complications beset the acceptance by the govt., of India of the resolution passed by the J+K C. A in favour of the election of the head of the state.



and removal of Maharaja, 52.  
to well informed sources.

First, under the Indian Const<sup>y</sup> of 1947 there is no provision for an elected Rajpramukh or Governor. Mah's

2ndly, the Maharaja of J & K has been recognised by the Constitution as part & parcel of the Govt<sup>y</sup> of that State under Art 370.

3rdly, it was only after the Maharaja had signed the instrument of accession that India was legally entitled to send armed force to that State during the critical days of Oct-1947. If the Maharaja goes, constitutional critics point out, the whole case of Kashmir accession to India become invalid until, at last, the issue of final accession has not been decided.

4thly, under Art 366 subclause 21 of the Indian Constitution, Rajapramukh means, in relation to the state J & K or the state of Mysore the person who, for the time being is recognised



by the president as the Maharaja of that state." Thus for all constitutional and legal purposes, the Maharaja is the Rajpramukh of J & K state.

Informed sources point out the Kashmir C. A. has taken the first step necessary for that state to get out of the provision of Art 370.

The president can modify or even nullify the provisions of that Art.

after considering the terms of the ~~pro~~ resolution urging the abolition of monarchy & wanting the head of the state to be elected. The president may also appoint an elected head as Rajpramukh for purposes of Art 366.

Before the Govt. of India, however, make such a recommendation to the president, not only constitutional but also political issues involved would have to be carefully examined. Perhaps an amendment of the Constitution may be necessary.



Dawn - Karachi 14-6-52.

Azad Kashmiris  
expose Abdullah's game for Yuvraj

Muzaffarabad. June 13. Sheikh Abdullah's  
move to regularise the position of Y. I. S.  
as Dogra Ruler Bharati-occupied Kashmir  
through formal election, is described here  
as a betrayal of the people & a fraud on  
democracy.

After having led a popular  
movement to overthrow Dogra tyranny,  
sheikh Abdullah now seeks to invest the  
same dynasty with the insignia of popular  
support. Rulers had derived their doubtful  
authority from the infamous treaty of  
Amritsar, which sold away an entire  
people to a military adventurer for  
a handful of money.

For decades, the descendants of  
Gulab Singh tyrannised and plundered  
the people, held them down in abject  
slavery & poverty & even denied them  
religious freedom.



The popular resentment against this mediaeval type of despotism was capitalised by Sheikh Abdullah to rise to the position of ~~the~~ national leader. But once in office, he has turned his back on his own people.

Describing Sheikh Abdullah's move as a plot to win popularity by deceiving his own people, the Azad Kashmir political circles hope, the game will soon be exposed.

How can the people elect to office they ask, a member of a dynasty which has sucked them dry for decades & whom they recently drove out of their capital through spontaneous risings all over the state?



The Hindu - Madras

15-6-52

## Assembly Decisions Criticised

New Delhi. June 14.

~~Federer~~ Mr. N. C. Chatterjee member of the House of People in a statement to-day said that "the decision of the Kashmir C. A. to set up an autonomous Republic within the Republic of India with a separate flag & a separate president would be completely "ultra vires" of the powers of that C. A."

Mr. Chatterjee said, "the decision of Kashmir Assembly to liquidate the Regime of the Maharaja & to terminate hereditary rulership in Kashmir & to have a president as the head of the state raises constitutional issues of grave importance. It will have far-reaching repercussions on the position of the Rajpramukhs or rulers of other Part B. States."



After what India has done for Kashmir, the decision of the Kashmir Assembly to set up an autonomous Republic within the Republic of India with a separate flag & a separate President is likely to alienate the good feeling which ought not to be dissipated in this crisis.

"The basic scheme of the scheme of the Indian Constitution makes the President the elected Head of the State, But the Rajpramukhs & Governors as the head of the federating units are not to be elected under Art 366 (21) of the Constitution of India."

Rajpramukh means in relation to the State of Hyderabad the Zilzam of Hyderabad. Under the same Art, in relation to the State of J & K, Rajpramukh means the Maharaja of the State."

Hence for e. A of J & K State can make any provisions repugnant to the Constitution of India.



is a question which requires serious  
considerations. Can that Assembly  
make a recommendation or pass  
a resolution that the State shall  
cease to be a part of the Union  
of India or it shall cease to be  
a Part B State? It has got no legal  
or constitutional power or authority  
to effect such a change. Any  
assumption of such authority shall  
be completely ultra vires of  
the power of that C.A.

X Hindu Madras

15/6/52

Head of State in Kashmir

Future of Dynasty

Mission's Talks in Delhi

New Delhi. June 14.

The delegation of Kashmir leaders,  
which included Mirza Asad Beg, Revenue  
Minister, Mr. Shamir Constitutional  
adviser, D. P. Dhar, Dy. Home



Minister and Maulana Mohd Sayeed,  
members of Parliament met P.M.  
Nehru, Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar,  
Defence Minister & D.R. Katju  
Minister for State today separately.

Their discussion centred on the  
situation arising from the decision  
of the Kashmir C.A. to ~~do~~ do  
away with the ruling dynasty &  
have an elected Head of the State.

The talks seem to be proceeding  
in the direction of finding a  
solution which could accommodate  
the decision of the Kashmir  
C.A. with the minimum of  
amendment to the Indian Constitution.

Several issues arise in this  
connection for consideration. It

was widely believed two years ago  
that in the correspondence exchanged  
between P.M. Nehru & the late  
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on the  
one side & Sheikh Abdullah  
on the other, there were specific  
statements to the effect that  
there could be no question  
of the ruling dynasty of the



Kashmir being terminated though it was quite a different thing to make the Maharaja a constitutional head.

There is no doubt that the text of the correspondence is known to the ruling dynasty also. While it may perhaps be open to govt. to modify their stand adopted two years ago in view of the altered circumstances, it is urged in informed sources circles that care should be taken to see that such a change does not engender a feeling of fear among the entire class of princes, to most of whom assurances of some kind or other had been given in the past when they acceded to the Indian Union. When the question was raised yesterday at the meeting of the Congress parliamentary party, one member urged that if in the case of Kashmir, the govt. of India could agree to terminate the ruling dynasty, the same principle must be applied to the Rajpramukhs of all the North B. States including



the Nizam of Hyderabad.

no need for elected Head

It is well known that very few top-ranking Congress leaders have any deep sympathy for the princes.

But the real question is what is the need for an elected Head of the State for Kashmir? what is the relationship that will exist between the president of India & the head of the Kashmir state? what will be designation of the head of the state & what are his functions? will the president of India "appoint" the head of the state or merely 'recognise' whoever is elected by Kashmir as the head of the state?

These are questions which are perhaps under discussion now between the Kashmir delegation & the govt. of India. It

Kashmir govt. is responsible to the legislature, as has been



decided by the C. A., then the question arises as to what need there is for an elected head of one state.

State's flag.

Kashmir has also decided to have its own flag, which is again another symbol of sovereignty. While most part A state have their own coat of arms, no state has a flag of its own other than the Indian national flag. In part B state the flag of the Rajpramukh can be flown only over their residence & that too alongside the Indian Union flag.

Can Kashmir with an elected head of the state, with a flag of its own & with an accession of a whole type to India in regard to these three subjects, which is yet to be satisfied by the C. A., be a unit of India? If the answer is in affirmative, it will prove



a disruptive factor. The danger  
perhaps lies in the fact that any  
special treatment accorded to Kashmir  
may tempt other units to demand a  
similar status & if this demand  
for similarity of treatment becomes  
universal, the entire basis of the  
Indian Constitution of having a  
strong Central Govt., would be  
knocked out.

Amrita Bazar Patrika  
Calcutta

16/6/52.



The Times of India.

16/6/52.

Jan Sangh's plea.

New Delhi. June 15.

The Working Committee of the  
Bahadaya Jan Sangh today passed a  
resolution, requesting the Govt. of India  
not to take any decision in regard to  
the Kashmir C. A's decision to abolish  
hereditary ruler ship without fully  
consulting parliament & giving an  
opportunity to the people of J & K  
to express their wishes.

The Committee also decided  
to observe June 29 as "Kashmir Day"  
by holding public meetings and demonstrations  
at all over India in support of the  
Jan Sangh's stand on Kashmir.  
by holding public meetings &



✓ The Tribune 1-7-52.

Mookerjee Questions

Abdullah's Faith

In one-nation theory

New Delhi June 29

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee declared here to-day that Sheikh Abdullah's "Constant references to Kashmiri freedom & Kashmiri nationalism seek to drive a wedge between India & Kashmir & treat the two as separate entities."

Dr. Mookerjee, who was addressing a public meeting organised by the Bhartiya Jan Sangh to observe the "Kashmir Day" said, "There cannot be a sovereign Republic within a sovereign Republic;



There cannot be a sovereign  
within a sovereign parhwa man  
cannot be two presidents with a  
same Union."

### Separate flag issue.

Referring to the Kashmir C. A.'s decision  
on a separate flag for the state, the  
Jain Singh president said it was  
not a matter to be lightly brushed  
aside especially in the context in  
which it was being brought into existence.

The national flag was the symbol  
of political unity. Different flags  
in different states "leading obviously  
to divide loyalty and ultimately  
lowering of the prestige of the national  
flag should not be encouraged."

Sheikh Abdullah's defence  
of the separate flag on the ground  
that the National Conference of  
Kashmir had its own flag under  
which it had fought and suffered  
for the liberation of the people  
of Kashmir was "hardly  
convincing" he said whatever



suffering he and other undergone  
had now eliminated in the  
attainment of independence of India  
that included Kashmir also.

"The flag which Kashmir will  
accept and salute is the flag of  
mother India. The National Conference  
may continue to have its own  
flag & will be the flag of the  
political party & nothing  
more" he declared.

### Monarchy issue

Referring to the state of C. A. decision  
to abolish hereditary ruler, Dr.

Mookerjee said it was necessary  
to follow some uniform policy  
for the whole country. It was  
incongruous that the Nizam of  
Hydrabad "who had rebelled

against India" should function  
as such while the Kashmir

Maharaja who by his per-  
sonal act had linked

Kashmir with India constitution-  
ally in 1947 should be punished.



Govt. of India  
All India Radio Bombay.

The C. A. in Kashmir  
By  
Diwan Chaman Lal.

Broadcast on  
(1-11-51)  
from  
Bombay Radio.

~~The~~ A most significant thing has happened within the last twenty four years. Yesterday was inaugurated the first session of the C. A. of J & K.

A year ago the authorities in Kashmir came to the conclusion that it was necessary to obtain the verdict of the Kashmiri nation in regard to the Constitutional future of the State. They had waited long enough for the settlement of the International complication created by the invasion of Kashmir on Oct. the 22nd. 1947, and for the result of the reference made by India to the S. C. to clarify the position of Kashmir.



so that an united Kashmir  
could give its verdict as to the  
future. The complications have  
continued. nearly one-fourth of  
the territory of Kashmir is still in  
the hands of the so-called Azad  
Kashmir Govt., but in reality  
in the hands of Pakistan, as a  
result of the invasion of 1947.

After the cease fire was agreed  
to, certain northern territories were  
also occupied by Pakistan troops.  
with this territorial division goes  
also a division of the population.  
About one-fourth of the population  
is today beyond the jurisdiction  
of the lawful govt. of Kashmir.

The leaders of Kashmir  
wanted, therefore, to see whether  
the express promises made to  
them by the U. N. Kashmir  
Commission would be implemented,

so that they could then proceed  
to arrange their constitutional  
future. The naked fact



as what these promises were must never be forgotten.

Pandit Nehru, on the 20th August 1948, demanded a clarification from the United Commission on three points & these points were as follows:

Firstly, when Pakistan troops should evacuate the territory, occupied by them no authority other than that of J & K Govt. would be recognised over the evacuated areas.

Secondly, the time of withdrawal of Indian troops and the strength of such troops to be left in the Valley, in order to ensure the Country's security, are matters to be decided by the Commission in consultation with the Govt. of India.

And thirdly, the Commission in no way would recognise the right of Pakistan to participate in the plebiscite to be held.



The plebiscite naturally would be held after two separate areas had been joined together; Pakistan forces had completely <sup>their</sup> evacuation of the occupied areas; and peace had been restored.

I want you clearly to remember these three conditions accepted by the Commission & agreed to by India. Such an acceptance alone could form the basis of future progress in order to elicit, by means of a plebiscite, the wishes of the united people of Kashmir.

The leaders of Kashmir, therefore waited & waited patiently for a matter of more than three years to obtain from the S.E. an honest verdict on this paramount

issue of the Status Quo and the rejection of an act of aggression. They waited patiently because they desired, as soon as



possible, to obtain the verdict of their own people on a critical issue.

The issue was the acceptance or rejection of by the people of Kashmir of the pernicious theory known as the two nation theory or of religious fanaticism: that is to say the division of a nation on the lines of religion or of religious fanaticism. India rejected this theory. Kashmir which is predominantly Muslim with equal force rejected this absurd reactionary theory whose devotees have created misery untold wherever, throughout the ages, they have had the power and authority to practice it.

And at long last, disappointed with the turn discussion had taken in the Security Council, and disgusted with the ways of modern diplomacy, the leaders of Kashmir decided to forge the instrument of decision in the shape of a C.A.,



irrespective of the fact whether one-fourth of their territory is returned <sup>to</sup> returned to them or not in the immediate future.

election

The elections to the C.A. were duly held under adult franchise & a vast democratic experiment was initiated for the first time in Kashmir's history. And, as I have said, the C.A. met yesterday and will continue to meet until a written Constitution has been forged. It will act in this respect exactly as our own C.A. acted - namely work both as a C.A. - making - Constitution - making body & as a Legislative Chamber.

In the election the N. Conference which in 1938 became a body in which all creeds & classes were represented, won undisputed victory.



This victory has been hailed 13/52.  
rightly as a victory for the  
opposed the two-nation theory. Within  
the elections have shown that  
three million inhabitants who form  
the present population of Kashmir  
are united in their rejection of  
religious fallacies, believe in  
Democracy and in a secular ~~set~~  
state and are anxious to all  
themselves with India where they  
can breathe the same air of  
democracy in a welfare state.

Vast changes will no doubt be  
made in the Constitutional structure of  
Kashmir. The autocratic rule of the  
Maharaja is dead. Whether Kashmir  
will continue to be governed under  
a Constitutional rulership is a  
matter for decision; but it is  
quite likely that, even if he  
remains, the Ruler of Kashmir  
will have to remain only as a  
strictly Constitutional head  
of a Democratic State. It



has already been decided and the decision has already been acted upon that big estates shall be abolished. This decision will be confirmed by the C.A. which will have to decide upon the issue of compensation to the big landlords.

The Kashmiri Constitution today is not a written constitution but when written will have a dual aspect.

Now the writing of a Constitution is not an easy matter & we hope that wisdom will dictate the hands of those who undertake this mighty task.



Hindustan Standard ✓ - 25/3/52.

Kashmir to be Republic within India

Mirza Afzal Beg's Statement.

Winter Session of State Assembly.

Jammu. March. 24. The State of Jammu & Kashmir will be "an autonomous Republic within the Indian Union" this was the premise on which the Basic Principles Committee of the L. C. A. had been working, revealed Mirza Afzal Beg, the Committee Chairman today.

He was moving a motion for extension of time for presentation of the report by the Committee in the Kashmir C. A. when it met here this morning at seven for its winter session. The motion was seconded by Pt. Girdharilal Sharma & was passed.



## ✓ Flag & Emblem

File no. N-4.

Bombay Chronicle  
Bombay

1/6/52.

### Invitation to Controversy.

The adoption of a separate flag by the K.C.A is presumably in line with claim that has been made by the Kashmir Premier, Sheikh Abdullah that Kashmir is an independent & sovereign state. This claim has been the subject of acite controversy. Whatever may be the wishes and aspirations of various parties for the future, the correct Constitutional position has been stated by Sheikh Abdullah himself that Kashmir has acceded to India only in the matter of Defence, Foreign Affairs & Communications & except for these it is



entirely autonomous. Even  
the anomaly of Kashmir being to  
in the Indian Parliament - leaving  
M. P's being free to participate in  
debates and vote on all subjects  
only on the acceded subjects. An explanation  
of this situation was demanded in the  
course of the debate on the President's  
speech. But the P. M., both in parliament  
& outside it, has maintained a discreet  
silence on the subject. Kashmir affairs  
are necessarily in a state of flux and  
still till a plebiscite ultimately decides  
its destiny, little is to be gained by  
discussing irritating constitutional niceties.

But it looks as if Kashmir patriots are  
not prepared to let sleeping dogs -  
dogs lie. They must adopt a flag  
in imitation of sovereign states,  
which Kashmir is not - and provoke  
a fresh controversy.



~~The times of~~  
The Tribune  
8/6/52.

Jammu & Kashmir Adopts new flag

Unanimous Support from All  
Sections.

Sat. June 7.

Amidst thunderous cheers the  
Jammu & Kashmir C. A. today unanimously  
passed the resolution adopting  
a flag for the State. Mr. Basim  
moved an amendment to delete the word  
national - it was accepted by Sheikh Ab.  
After the passage of the resolution,  
members stood up & observed one  
minute's silence in honour of the  
flag.

Moving the 'flag' resolution  
in the Assembly, Sheikh Abdullah  
said that the national flag of  
J & K shall be rectangular  
in shape & red in colour.



file C-4

Tribune -

25/7/1952.

Accession of Kashmir complete.  
Nehru's statement in parliament.  
No change in position of national  
flag.

Legislature to Recommend  
Head of State.

Emergency powers for President  
of India.

New Delhi. July 24.

P. M. Nehru announced in the House  
of people today that the Govt.,  
of India & Kashmir Govt., representatives  
had agreed that the head of the  
State in Kashmir "shall be the  
person recognised by the President  
on the Recommendation of the  
Legislature of the State."

It was for the State Legislature  
to decide the process of election &  
normally the head of the State  
would hold office for a term of



five years, he said.  
the national flag, said Mr  
Nehru, had exactly the same status  
and position in J & K as in any  
other part of India. The state  
flag was in no sense a rival  
to the national flag but for  
historical & sentimental reasons  
connected with the Kashmiri people's  
struggle for freedom they wanted  
this state symbol to continue.  
This was agreed to.

It was agreed that the  
powers to reprieve & commute death  
sentences; etc. should belong to the  
president of India.

### Emergency powers:

It was agreed that the  
president's emergency powers under  
which the president has powers  
to declare a state of emergency  
in case of invasion, external  
aggression danger or internal



disturbances should apply to  
Kashmir but in the case of  
internal disturbances any action taken  
in this regard should be with the  
concurrence of the Govt. of the  
state.

### Citizenship :-

Mr. Nehru said that full  
Citizenship applied to Kashmir.

However, for a long time in Kashmir  
outsiders could not acquire or hold  
immovable property in Kashmir.

The present Govt. of Kashmir were "rightly  
afraid" that without such provision Kashmir  
would be over-run by people whose sole  
qualification might be the possession  
of too much money & nothing else.

The Kashmir Govt. wanted to  
liberalise ~~that~~ the Maharaja's  
law in that regard but ~~nevertheless~~  
nevertheless to have checks on the  
acquisition of land from outsiders.

"We agreed that the State Legislature  
should have ~~rights & privileges~~  
of the power to define & regulate



the rights & privileges of the State.  
permanent residents of the State, more  
especially in regard to the acquisition  
of immovable property, appointments  
to the services & like matters.

Till then existing State laws shall  
apply." Mr. Mehru added.

It was agreed that special  
provision should be made in the  
laws governing citizenship for the  
return of those permanent residents

of J & K State who went to  
Pakistan during the disturbances  
of 1947 or earlier & could not  
return. If they returned, they  
should be entitled to the rights  
& privileges & obligations of  
Citizenship.

Fundamental Rights.

It was agreed that fundamental  
Rights should apply to the



state but these rights should not come in the way of the land legislation of the state govt or hamper the state govt's precaution against infiltration or sabotage or espionage by the enemy.

In regard to the S. court, Mr. Nehru said, it was agreed that the S-c should have original jurisdiction in respect of disputes mentioned in Art 131 of the Constitution of India. It was further agreed that the S-c should have jurisdiction in regard to fundamental rights which were agreed to by the state.

Mr. Nehru said that on behalf of the Government that the Advisory Tribunal in the state, which was designated



as "His Highness Board of judicial  
Advisers" should be abolished & the  
jurisdiction exercised by it should  
be vested in the S.C. of India.

That is to say, the S.C. should  
be the final Court of appeal in  
all civil & criminal matters  
as laid down in the Constitution of  
India.

(Delhi agreement)

### SONG of the Flag.

- ① Let this flag of Kashmir be unfurled,  
The flag of our people,  
of young & old alike,  
of the strong and the non-violent,  
And of our poor peasants  
who ever plough the land



... Comm. Brown

2) Let this flag be always flying  
over our valley and our lakes;  
Till the day of judgement  
Let it raise its proud head.

3) ~~May this~~  
May this flag forever fly  
over the meadows and the mountain-tops  
over pastures green & rushing streams,  
And limitless expanse of land;  
May it every fly over the houses  
of the poor  
And adorn the mansions of the rich

4) Let this flag be ever flying  
on the four corners of this land;  
Till the Day of judgement  
Let this our symbol be.

5) This reel flag of Kashmir,  
This beloved flag of ours,  
And of our peasants' too;  
Which brings succour to the poor  
And the downtrodden,  
And gladdens every heart.



May it fly forever.  
In every nook & corner  
Till the Day of judgement

~~Faith~~ May I behold thee!

- x

✓ Tribune 23/7/52.

Separate flag For Kashmir

Jam Sangh Secretary criticised.  
Govt.

Amritsar July 22, Mr Mahavir,  
General Secretary of the All-India  
Jam Sangh, said here to-day that  
by allowing Kashmir (a hundred  
per cent sovereign parliament,  
the separate flag of Urdu as the  
official language, the Govt.  
of India is opening a door  
for other States to do the  
same."



Mr. Mahavir, who was addressing a press Conference said the question of flag was a matter of national honour & unity. There could not be a number of flags within one country, he added.

Times of India

Nov. 15, 1952.

New Kashmir

Emblem

3 Regions of state indicated

Srinagar. Nov. 14. The new emblem adopted by the Kashmir C.A. on Wednesday is the fourth in the series that this state has had in the chequered history of 106 years.



The emblem is simple in design & representations of the manifold aspects of Kashmir life. Mr. G. M. Sadiq, then president of the C.A., and chairman of the Emblem Committee told me times of India's Correspondence that the new emblem denoted a complete break with the past & a beginning of the new era.

He said this, perhaps was the only known emblem which did not contain in its design anything depicting the idea of violence. Our emblem stands for peace & prosperity through knowledge & production."

Mr. Sadiq

Wavy Surface

The wavy surface in the centre depicts plentiful supply of water, while the three white



horizontal equi distant stripes  
denote the three cultural regions  
of Kashmir, Jammu & Ladakh  
the two ploughs facing each other  
surrounded by two ears of corn  
are representative of the majority  
of the people of the State who  
are dependent on agriculture.

The lotus, according to chief  
minister Sheikh. A., stands for  
knowledge & purity. In our  
mythology the Goddess of  
Learning - Saraswati - has her  
abode in lotus." he said in  
the Assembly while presenting  
emblem.

The most significant thing  
about the emblem is its inscription in  
English. It is neither in Hindi,  
the national language, nor in  
Urdu the Court language of the



state now in Kashmir, the  
recognised regional language.

✓ C = 4. file

Spotlights 18th July 1952.  
P. 6.

Abolition of Hereditary Rule.  
Analysis of the problem.

Man, as is well known, has from early times been moved by an urge for freedom. The idea that sovereignty rests with the people and not with any individual has dominated his consciousness from the time he gradually abandoned his

isolation in favour of a gregarious life and began thinking in terms of society. When in order to promote his existence man took to corporate life there grew the idea of the leader. Thus various groups and clans, into which mankind was divided, felt, each in its own place, the need for putting someone at their head. In doing so while each of them endeavoured to appoint the fittest possible person as the leader, it was also naturally



guided by the feeling that the appointment should be made by taking into account the collective opinion of all adult men and women. In other words, the people were to be considered sovereign. They followed this principle consistently and it became the pivot round which centred the activities of all the groups.  
Leader and Priest.

Side by side with this development a feeling grew in their minds that apart from corporate life which had its own benefits and advantages, there was an extra ordinary agency possessing such powers as could reform their life and fulfil all their aspirations and desires. This feeling gained ground & found expression in each group setting before it an idol for worship and

( I hold . . . . .

"The fundamental rights of all men and women to live and act as free human beings, make laws and fashion their political, social and economic fabric, so that they may advance the cause of human freedom & progress, as inherent and cannot be denied though they may be suppressed for a while. . . I hold that sovereignty resides in the people



and all relationships, political, social and economic, derive authority from the collective will of the people".

Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah.

Ex tract from the historic statement before the Court which tried him in 1946 for the "Quit Kashmir" movement.)

making offerings to win its favour.

In this way sprang up a group of priest and whenever any of these groups found itself face to face with a problem or a difficulty to which it found itself unequal it would at once turn to its

chosen idol of worship & make offerings in the hope that all its difficulties will get resolved. It was only that the two institutions - one of the leader & the other of the priest came into being.







S. C. and the Kashmir Commission providing for a free & impartial plebiscite are faithful-ly implemented and until everyone is made to realise that international commitments and obligations cannot be broken or repudiated with impunity.

"In view of these facts the Pakistani Govt., would again respectfully but strongly urge the S. C. to retrieve the situation by taking effective and adequate measures to stop the govt., of India & the authorities concerned in the J & K state from convening the proposed C. A."

Hindus Tan Times

Delhi.

7/7/51 page 1 column No 7.

Kashmir to Broke No Interference

Abdullah Reaffirms Decision to Call C. A.

Srinagar July 6.

Sheikh Abdullah declared here today the people of Kashmir had decided once for all to convene a C. A. to decide their future.



Addressing a huge gathering on the occasion of Id-ul-Fitr, he said foreign powers friendly to Pakistan were helping her in her intransigent attitude. But neither the U.N. nor any other power could prevent Kashmiris from deciding their future in a democratic way.

The Chief Minister asked the people "Do you want to join India or Pakistan?"

With one voice the vast gathering replied "we shall go with you and go where you take ~~up~~ us. you are our leader."

"The Chief Minister said: we will set up a C. A. so that you may express your own will. we have failed to induce Pakistan to quit the State. Kashmiris, therefore, assert themselves and show to the world how they feel on matters pertaining to their country" (cries of "we are with you" from audience)

---

Sheikh Abdullah gave an assurance that elections to the C. A. would be free & fair and said people could vote for any candidate they liked.



Deccan Herald Bangalore 15/7/51

Bid to obstruct Kashmir elections  
Condemned.

Sheikh Abdullah with white address  
the A-2-e.c. session:

Referring to the convening of the proposed  
C. A in the State, the Kashmir Premier  
said that Pakistan and her foreign friends  
naturally felt quite perturbed over the idea,  
for they knew the C. A would give her  
the people full initiative. That was why  
Pakistan was trying to raise a hue & cry  
and resorting to all manner of subterfuges  
to prevent the holding of the election. It  
would not succeed in its nefarious activities.

1. I told the representative of the U. N.

2. That if Pakistan seriously challenged that  
Sh. Abdullah's Govt. existed  
only because of the support of India, they  
why did it object to the convening of the  
C. A? The elections would show  
clearly where the Kashmir Govt. stood  
if this was not the case, then your



problem is solved. In that case, nobody has any business to interfere with Kashmir issue.

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Indian News Chronicle  
Delhi.

30th July 1950.

Page I Magazine Section.

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War on Mushroom Maharajas

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Kashmir Aims at Economic Freedom.

Article by Sheikh Mohd. Abdulhah Chief  
Minister of J & K.

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In 1931, the foundation of the Freedom Movement of Kashmir was laid on the basis of the people's demand for freedom. It should be remembered that to us the freedom of the people did not mean their political freedom alone. Freedom to us means the emancipation of our Country from economic backwardness and social ills.

It has all along been our conviction that political freedom can only follow as a direct result of economic freedom and that freedom alone can be lasting



as had foundations in economic equality. 96 out of every 100 persons in our State eke out their livelihood by tilling the land in one form or other. These people are spread through out the nine thousand villages of the State. Economic prosperity for the State will have no meaning without the economic advancement of this 96% Agrarian population.

### Birth of Exploitation

It is for this reason that in the Freedom Movement of Jammu & Kashmir the upliftment of the rural and agriculturist population has all along received priority. Even in 1931, the major demand among those made on govt. was that proprietary rights should be conferred on agriculturist rural population in respect of lands then considered to be personal property of the Maharaja.

As a result of great sacrifices, the leaders of the Freedom Movement got this demand conceded and the proprietary rights which vested in the Maharaja, were conferred on the tilling villagers. whereas this transference of proprietary made lakhs of small tillers the ~~new~~ owners of khalas lands. On which they hold the rights of Assamis (agents) Jagirdars and Chak Dars too came to be the proprietors of huge areas of lands which, they also, till them held in the capacity of Assamis. By virtue of this recognition, these holders of big landed estates became fully



armed to exploit and loot the peasantry.

Some people, who had enough of unutilized capital, came forth, taking undue advantage of the freedom to transfer land by sale, to acquire thousands of acres of additional land.

Thus there grew a smush room of Maharajas in the form of Jagirdars and big Zamindars round the autocratic regime of the Maharaja, collectively exploiting the poor tiller of land.

### Liquidation Announced

while landlordism was blossoming into youth, the N.C. which had taken upon itself the task of shouldering the responsibility of Kashmir's Freedom Movement — kept itself busy in cutting at the very roots of this horrifying evil and the result of this consistent struggle is that the N.C.-sponsored cabinet of the state has been in a position to announce the liquidation, once for all, of all big holdings of land and, conferment of proprietary rights of land thus released to the actual tillers.

Announced on July 13, 1950 these measures provide that: —

- (i) Any person or institution within the territories of the J & K state, possessing more than 1,000 kanals — 125 acres — of land in proprietorship, shall forfeit all such land, except 160 kanals — 20 —



acres - of agricultural land for his personal maintenance, in favour of the tillers there of subject to Rules and regulations in force as regards collection of land revenue etc. with immediate effect, only the tillers of these lands will be recognised as the proprietors who will be the sole owners of the next kharif crop;

ii) All agricultural land, whether small or large in extent, of those, who on account of joining their hands with the enemy have been declared as Enemy Agents, will with immediate effect, belong to their tillers;

iii) All agricultural land in Poonch will belong to persons who possessed Assami rights only in such land so far;

iv) the Game Preserves in Udhampur, which had been formed out of lands belonging to cultivators and the wild animals whereof used to cause depredation to crop and cattle in the ~~near~~ nearby villages, have been released for cultivation with immediate effect. In the case of cultivators who in spite of their lands being annexed with the preserves were made to pay the land revenue shall get refund of the



amounts paid by them; and

V) The Game Laws are amended with immediate effect and the people residing in the neighbourhood of the Ralehs (Preserves) have the permission to use fire-arms against wild animals liable to cause damage to ~~crops~~ crops, cattle or life.

only the first steps.

These are the measures about which we had provided in "New Kashmir": —

» Abolition of land lordism is the first step.  
It would be the pivot of all progress so long as a privileged class exists; itself doing nothing, but living on the labour of others; there can be no equitable distribution of the products of the soil."

we have further pledged in "new Kashmir"  
that when power is transferred to the people:  
"Land will go to the tiller, because class  
after the abolition of the landlord class,  
it will be possible for the first time  
to satisfy the land hunger of the  
landless peasant and ~~en~~ ensure  
the efficient working of the land."

I wish to make it clear that



our aim will not be achieved so long as these measures are not complete. The very introduction of the plan — "New Kalkhrai" — states: "the peasant sons of the valley and the mountains have ~~been~~ scratched only nine inches of top soil and eked out a bare existence. Now the time has come when they must dig deep into the bowels of the earth and yoke the technique of modern science to the task of getting for themselves a bigger and better morsel of daily bread."

The measures that have been announced are in no way the last link in the chain of agrarian reforms. They are but an important link. As to the programme that should be followed to complete the chain, a Committee is already at work. This Committee has formulated a questionnaire which has been circulated in all parts of the States, and an opportunity has been afforded to all interests to present their point of view in the form of replies to the questionnaire. Replies are being received and the Committee is expected to submit its recommendations to the Govt. in the near future. A major stage of achievement in this direction



will have been reached only after those  
recommendations are implemented.

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Bharat

Bombay

31/10/50

page 9 column No 6, 7

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nehru on self-Determination Move

Kashmir Elections Do Not Conflict with  
U. N. Bid For Solution

Srinagar Oct. 30

Commenting on the Kashmir N. E. resolution  
to hold elections for a C. A, Pandit  
Nehru, in an exclusive interview with  
"Reuter's" diplomatic correspondent, now  
is Srinagar, said yesterday that the  
Kashmir Govt. had always intended to create  
an elected Constituent Assembly.

Before the outbreak of fighting in  
Kashmir, Pt. Nehru said, Sheikh Abdullah  
and the N. E. had envisaged - that such an  
assembly would decide, another questions  
of Kashmir's Constitution and political future,  
what the real attitude of the people would  
be on the issue of accession.

This project, Pandit Nehru said, was  
of necessity a necessity abandoned



during the confusion accompanying the fighting. But now it was rational for the people of Kashmir to want to restore normal conditions in their state, to enable them to get on with rebuilding of a stable state. The U. N. failure so far to hold out any prospect of solution to the Kashmir dispute had only increased their sense of impatience.

From what he had seen of the N. C. resolution to hold C. A. elections, Pt. Nehru said, "he could not see that it conflicted with the U. N. efforts to settle the dispute. On the contrary, anything which increased internal stability helped towards peaceful settlement."

Pt. Nehru admitted that in practice the proposed elections would only be possible in those parts of Kashmir under the administration of Sheikh Abdullah's govt., but agreed that the govt. claim to be legal & continuing governance of the whole Kashmir made it understandable that the resolution should treat elections as valid for the whole state of J & K.

The Kashmir Chief Minister Sheikh Abdullah said, in an interview today that his govt. would not proceed to



implement the resolution of J & K. N. C  
and prepare for election for a ~~C. A.~~  
C. A.

no separate govt, decision was  
needed, he explained since govt, received  
its mandate from the N. C.

the electoral rolls, he disclosed,  
were already being prepared and govt,  
aim was to hold the election next month.

— X —

Amrit Bazar Patrika

31/10/50

calcutta column no. 3

By the way.

The natural exasperation of a people who,  
though no fault of their own, do not know  
where they stand, found adequate expression  
through a resolution of the Kashmir N. C.,  
declaring that "the United Nations' handling  
of the Kashmir issue has condemned the  
Kashmir people to a life of agonising  
uncertainty," and asserting further that  
"the time has come when the initiative  
must be regained by the people to put an  
end to this indecisive and interminable state of  
dread and indecision." The resolution, which  
called on the people of Kashmir to elect  
a ~~C. A.~~ C. A. and decide the future  
of the state, presumably independent



from the Indian of the U. N., received  
endorsement from the Indian P.M., who was  
present at the Conference. Pt. Nehru envisaged  
the possibility of objection being raised to such  
a move while the Kashmir question was still  
before the U. N., but he lent his support  
to the resolution on the realistic ground that  
the people of Kashmir could not stop all their  
activity and just adopt an unhelpful attitude  
of wait and see. The failure of U. N. to  
find a solution must now be frankly  
recognised and the self-determination  
of the people of Kashmir should not be  
further delayed.

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X

J&K Govt.,  
Kashmir Bureau of Information, New Delhi  
Constituent Assembly For Kashmir  
State Press Hails the decision

Srinagar NOT

The resolution adopted by General  
Council of the J&K N.C. recommending to the  
Supreme nation executive for the people  
to take immediate steps for convening  
a C.A. for the purpose of determining



the future shape and affiliations of the State" has been hailed as a "wise and timely step" by the Local press.

Writing on the subject, the Daily Ikhidmat, official organ of the N. C., observes that in view of the indecisive attitude of the S. C. there is very little hope of the dispute being solved justly in near future. "As a result of his policy the people of Kashmir have been ~~not~~ condemned to a life of uncertainty for the last three years. The Country's progress is hampered and many important measures have remained in abeyance.

It has therefore become absolutely essential to put an end ~~to~~ to this state of affairs and the decision to convene a C. A. will fulfill this need," it says.

Continuing the paper refers to the circumstances which led to the emergence of the present Govt. and adds, "The present govt. came into being in extraordinary circumstances no elections have been held; nor is there any legislature functioning



in the country before which the Ministers could be answerable. To allow this state of affairs to continue would be an injustice to the people. ... If the C. A. is not set up it will mean the continuance of the present administration without the people being given an opportunity to exercise their choice in the matter. Obviously, the setting up of the Consensus is not only essential but also a pre-requisite of establishing a democratic system here."

### Timely & wise step

Welcoming the decision as timely and wise the Daily Marthan organ of the Kashmiri Panch Conference says, "the resolution has a special significance as it aims at putting an end to the present state of uncertainty by convening a representative Assembly of the people. This step will fulfill a great and essential need and also put an end to a kind of frustration which has seized our people as a result of the present state of drift and uncertainty."

Nov 2. 50 The daily Sach Jammu also



welcomed the decision.

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DAWN.

Tuesday Nov. 1. 1950

19 Moharrum 1370

The Bharati Prime Minister is reported to have endorsed a resolution passed by the General Council of Sheikh Abdullah's so-called N. C. which has decided "to solve the Kashmir dispute by electing a C.A. in early general elections to decide the future of the State."

It may not ~~decide~~ <sup>be</sup> surprising that Sheikh Abdullah ~~may~~ <sup>is</sup> and his associates who have sold themselves to Bharat are bent on depriving the people of Kashmir of their right to choose their own future in a plebiscite held by an impartial U.N. agency, but

Pt. Nehru claims to be a world statesman whose advice - sought or unsought - should be heeded round the globe, and he would have known better than ~~of~~ <sup>to</sup> convict himself out of his own mouth of naked imperialist designs. His Srinagar speech of last Saturday was nothing short of a confession that he wants to annex Kashmir to Bharat because he just happens to feel that way, and utter disregard of



the feelings of the people of the State. He  
now speaks the same language as the foreign  
masters of this Sub-Continent used to speak  
not long ago. They used to tell the people  
of undivided India that they knew best what  
was good for the latter.

The manner in which the so-called N. C's  
news sheet about the election of a C. A. "to  
decide the future of the State" has been timed  
to synchronise with the further consideration  
of the dispute by the S.C. indicates a deep  
laid plot. Pt Nehru's visit to Srinagar at  
the same time cannot be a mere coincidence  
either; in deed, the plot may well have  
originated in his own mind. The aim is  
clear enough. Having been convicted by  
Sir Owen Dixon of deliberate obstructionism  
with a view to preventing at all costs the  
holding of an impartial plebiscite even in a  
limited area of the State and fearing that  
the S.C. which has so far obliged him in  
every way may find it difficult to ignore  
the findings of its own Representative, Pt.  
Nehru is evidently planning to forestall  
the S.C. by presenting it with yet  
another fait accompli. The outlines of



Neheru - Sheikh Abdullah's plot appears to be these: So called election of a so called C. A on the basis of so called adult franchise is to be held, this body is to "decide" to accede to Bharat, and the S. e is to be told "Behold we have done the job. A representative C. A elected on the widest possible franchise has registered the verdict of the people. The matter is settled". That such proceedings would be fraudulent from beginning to end may be clear enough to everybody else in the world, but "the leader of Asia" would just not see it. Fortified by the previous facts accomplished in Junagadh and Hyderabad, on which issues the S. e has acted with shameful cowardice and swallowed Bharat's armed aggression hook, line and sinker, Pt. Neheru seems to believe that he has just but to produce one more accomplished fact in Kashmir and the lily livers at Lake Lake Success will quiver for a while and then lie still.



Pioneer Lucknow  
1/11/50 page 7 column no 3

## Consensus for Kashmir

Govt: Getting Ready for elections

Srinagar oct. 29: - The Kashmir Premier, Sheikh Abdullah, said in an interview today that the Kashmir govt, would now proceed to implement the resolution of the J & K. N. E. to prepare for elections for a C. A.

No separate Govt, decision was needed, he explained, since Govt, received its mandate from the N. E.

Govt, 's aim was to hold the elections next summer, he added.

— — — x — — —  
Amrita Bazar Patrika  
1/11/50 Calcutta

Page 4. Col. No: 5

Constituent Assembly

Kashmir's preparations for electoral  
Rolls.

Srinagar oct 29. The Kashmir Premier,



Sheikh Abdullah, said in an interview to-day that the Kashmir Govt, would now proceed to implement the resolution of the J & K A.C to prepare for elections for a C.A.

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x

Ambika Bazar patilka

2/11/50                      Calcutta  
page 3                      Col. 7.

will it bring The Solution Nearer?

Setting up of C.A in Kashmir

Srinagar Oct. 31

Two days' visit of the hard worked P. M. of India to Kashmir valleys ~~was~~ has enlivened the state's dull & drowsy political atmosphere and reassured the people of this war torn frontier region

that India was ~~not~~ out to defend them at all costs and would in no case ~~let~~ let them down. Pt. Nehru who stayed in the valley hardly for 48 hours was taken out in procession twice on the first day.

He addressed four meetings, held high level conferences with Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues,



Pt. Nehru justified the setting up of the C. A in the State and impressed upon Kashmir authorities the need to go ahead with the task. This move is interpreted in political circles as a new approach to the solution of Kashmir tangle reflecting at the same time anxiety on the part of Indian & Kashmir leaders to end the tangled situation in Kashmir.

But even this approach has its difficulties. How would for example, people in the so-called Azad Kashmir territory participate in the proposed Constituent elections? If India takes military action to liberate them it would obviously mean war which she does not oblige want to have. And Pakistan would not oblige India by withdrawing from the territory voluntarily.

Does the proposition again reduce it self to partitioning the State according to the present cease fire line for which Kashmiris are not prepared? Anyway answer to this knotty question will be provided by events as they unfold themselves in due course.



Dawn Karachi.

4/11/50 Page 100 Col. No 2.

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Bharat's move for Kashmir  
C. A is an affront to U. N.

Authority

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Rawalpindi Nov. 2.

Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Iqbal, former President of the Azad Kashmir Govt., in a press statement today observed that since the Kashmir issue was still on the international anvil, Bharat's present move of a farcical C. A for J & K was an affront to the authority of the U. N.

Commenting on Sheikh Abdullah's announcement of the proposal to get up a ~~Comm~~ C. A for drawing up a

Constitution for the State of J & K

Sardar Ibrahim Iqbal said that any decision taken by an Assembly elected without one & a half million



Kashmiris out of three and a half million and almost half of the state's area which is totally out of Bharat's control - being in Azad Territory - could never be binding on the people of J & K State, nor could it be acceptable to the Azad Kashmir Govt., the Pakistan Govt., or the U.N.S.

Sardar Ibrahim Khan appealed to the Pakistan Govt., not ~~merely~~ merely to protest to the U.N. on the outrage against the sovereignty of the people of Kashmir but also take strong action to end the three-years-old Kashmir deadlock.

"And in doing so" the Azad Kashmir leader added, "They will be initiating a move which will have the wholehearted endorsement of all the people of J & K."

### Text of Statement

Sardar Mohammed Ibrahim Khan said, "Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah, presumably at the instance of the Govt. of Bharat, has announced to the surprise of many, that he is contemplating to set up a C.A., which will form a constitution for the J & K State."



" This Assembly, according to Pt. Nehru, will formally ratify the State's accession to Bharat. This decision is in keeping with the govt. of Bharat's policy of co-opting four members from the J & K State in the Bharati C. A.

With one & a half million Kashmiris and almost half of the State's area totally out of Bharat's control it is impossible to imagine how elections to an assembly, which will formulate a Constitution for the whole of the State can be held. Even if it were possible how can such an assembly represent all Kashmiris?

Any decision, in, taken by such an Assembly can never be binding on the people of <sup>the</sup> Kashmir state, nor can ~~it be~~ it be acceptable to the Azad Kashmir Govt., Pakistan Govt., or U. N. "

X



Amrit Bazar Patrika

57 4/11/50

Calcutta

page 4 . col. No : 2, 3 .

## The Kashmir Consensus . (Art.)

The Resolution A adopted unanimously on Oct. 27 by the General Council of the Jammu & Kashmir N. C. recommending to the "Supreme National Executive of the people" the immediate convention of a C. A. for determining the "future shape & affiliation" of the state is interpreted in political circles as a new approach to the solution of the baffling problem of Kashmir. Pt. Nehru's presence in the Council meeting and his whole hearted approval of the resolution add considerable significance to this new move. Both the N. C. leaders and the Indian P. M. explained the reasons that prompted the most representative political organisation of the state to take this step. The Kashmir question has been hanging fire in the S. C. for over three years now. It has sent a Commission, a mediator & observers to study the situation on the spot and bring the disputants to an amicable settlement. But the result has been



increasing complication of a simple issue which, as Pt. Nehru said, was expected to be decided in a few weeks time. The reason is that the U.N. in spite of unambiguous evidence of Pakistan's aggression and clear admission of this fact by Sir Owen Dixon, has tended to make Kashmir, in Pt. Nehru's words, a pawn in the game of world politics. The people of Kashmir in the meantime have been undergoing terrible suffering, both material and psychological. The failure of Sir Owen Dixon's mission and the apparent shelving, for the time being, of the issue by the U.N., have thrown the people of Kashmir to an indefinite period of agonising suspense. The National C has rightly refused to put up any longer with this state of affairs and its decision to settle the matter in accordance with popular opinion is unexceptionable.

Pakistan's increasing hysteria & threat since after the failure of Sir Owen Dixon's mediation efforts



and the worsening international situation aggravated, for this sub-continent, by the Communist invasion of Tibet have made a speedy solution of the Kashmir tangle all the more urgent. Sir Owen Dixon's labelling of Pakistan as the aggressor in Kashmir, though his mediation proposals were strangely inconsistent with this basic finding, at once swept Pakistan off her feet and her leaders, both official & non-official, started a sort of war of nerves with a view to cowing India by a show of the mailed fist. The tone & spirit of the speeches of Pakistani leaders on the "Kashmir Day" indicate Pakistan's determination to grab Kashmir at any cost. The reported strengthening of her armed forces behind the cease-fire line is a positive indication of giving effect to this determination by force, if need be. Neither India nor the people of Kashmir can, therefore, remain inactive and watch the situation passively. The impending change in the political situation in Tibet has introduced another complication in the picture.



Tibet touches Kashmir north-eastern frontier at a length of about 350 miles and the happenings just across this frontier are naturally matters of great concern both to India & the State of Kashmir. Moreover, this new development is almost sure to be exploited by the Big power in their Kashmir gambling. Pt. Nehru, in his National Conference address, referred to the alternate cajoling and vilification of him by the U.S. Press just as it suited U.S. policy, particularly in Asia. Pakistan he said, has more or less been consistently supported by Americans because she obligingly toes the U.S. line. In such circumstances, the hope of a just & speedy settlement of the Kashmir question by the U.N. seems remote, on the one hand, and at the same time its indefinite postponement is disastrous for India and Kashmir, on the other.

The N.E. is more for settling the issue, evidently born of exasperation at the U.N.'s sickening game, is a right and, in the existing circumstances,



the only possible course left to it. But realistically considered, it is doubtful how far the verdict of the proposed C. A. will ring the curtain finally down on the affair. Elections on adult franchise to the Assembly can be held only in those areas which are now under the control of the govt. of Sheikh Abdullah. No representatives, at least openly elected, can join it from those areas which are now occupied by the so-called Azad Kashmir Govt. The decision of the C. A. in regard of the State's accession will, therefore, be regarded by Pakistan, and presumably by the U. N. too, as relating only to those areas whose representatives will participate in it. In that case, either the virtual partition of the State will have to be accepted or its Pakistan-occupied area will have to be liberated by resort to arms. The position after the C. A. 's verdict will in that event not materially differ from the existing one. Neither the people of Kashmir nor India, after so much shedding of blood, can possibly reconcile themselves to the partition of Kashmir which, above everything



else is unjustified and ruinous <sup>to the</sup> ~~to the~~ state to the state. The possibility of a war for liberating the occupied areas is also ruled out. In such circumstances, the move for a C.A. necessarily limited in its scope, has the danger of perpetuating the division of the state, and we hope the Govt<sup>s</sup> of India and of Kashmir will take sufficient precaution against such an eventuality.

Times of India.

Bombay.

21/5/50 Page 4. Col- 7.

Future of Kashmir State

New Proclamation soon

A proclamation by the YUVraj of Kashmir, convening the C.A. to decide the state's future affiliations and the constitution, as well as the promulgation of the Franchise Act. are in the final stage of completion. The Proclamation may be issued by the end of this week.

the State's Deputy Minister for



Franchise and planning, Mr. Dhar, will consult the govt. of India and secure their approval to the draft.

Meanwhile, arrangements are being completed to set in motion the election machinery as soon as the Franchise Act, is promulgated. Elections may be held in June next on the basis of adult Franchise.

political parties and govt. are understood to be of the view that all parties, ~~incl~~ including the Muslim League, should be allowed the right of free propaganda & participation in the elections.

↓  
Decision welcomed.

Jammu. Nov. 20. The working committee of the J & K. N.C., yesterday welcomed the Kashmir Govt. decision to set up a C.A. to decide the future of the state.

Hindustan Times Delhi

24/11/50

page 6. col. 4.

J.P. Narain Welcomes C.A. For Kashmir



Nagpur Nov. 23.

The only ~~was~~ visible and practicable solution left for the Kashmir question was the convening of a C.A. to settle finally the future of the state said Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, Socialist leader at the public meeting here yesterday.

He described once the Assembly was elected by May next, as demanded by the Kashmir M.C. and a decision taken it should be binding upon the Govt. of India & as well as the United Nations. There would be no question of plebiscite & India ~~was~~ should withdraw her case from the U.N. & refuse to take any further part in the deliberations which might not be of her seeking.

The Socialist leader said that people in the Pakistan-held Kashmir should ~~be~~ also be given the opportunity to elect their representatives to the proposed C.A. But if this could not ~~possibly~~ be arranged for any reason the future of that part of Kashmir should be left to be decided later <sup>on</sup> as one of the several matters



in dispute between ~~India~~ India and  
Pakistan. "

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Pioneer

26/11/50

Lucknow (up)

Page 5. Column 2.

(Similar news)

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Hindustan Times

Delhi.

3/12/50

Page 12. Col. 4.

Kashmir C. A. To Have 100 members.

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Srinagar Dec. 2.

Election to the C. A. will be held about the middle of next summer, according to indications here. The State govt's Franchise Deptt is reported to have already completed preliminary work in this connection.

The election will be held on the basis of joint electorates and adult franchise with every adult above 21 years of age being entitled to vote.

The size of the Assembly is stated to have been tentatively proposed to be 100 members on the basis of one representative for every 40,000 people, the state population being roughly 40,00,000.



Some seats, it is learnt, will be left vacant for the people of the Pakistan held parts of the state. An announcement on the subject is expected to be made shortly.

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Pioneer

Lucknow (U.P.)

Of 6/12/50 Page 2. Column no. 5, 6

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Constituent Assembly For Kashmir.

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Ghulam Mohammed Begins For Kashmir

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Ghulam Mohammed Begins Election Campaign.

Srinagar Dec. 3:- Balakshi Ghulam Mohammed Dy. Premier of Kashmir, yesterday opened election campaign to the proposed C. A for the state.

Addressing a special convention of the N. C. workers of Mujahid Manzil in Srinagar, he declared that by acceding to India Sheikh Abdullah had thrown a challenge to Pakistan and it was now up to the people to stand solidly behind him.



outlining the task before the proposed C. A. the Dy. premier said that besides ratifying Kashmir's accession to India, "it would also have to ratify land abolition and such other Acts ~~as~~ altering proprietary rights of individuals which had been passed" subject to satisfaction by the C. A. "It would also have to decide on the future status of the ruling family. He also said that Govt<sup>y</sup> would endeavour to hold elections in May next year or by Sept. at the latest.

The Convention passed a resolution condemning the imprisonment by the Pakistan Govt<sup>y</sup> of Badshah Khan.

Indian Express

Madras

11/12/50

page 4

col. 2.

Kashmir C. A.

Pak-held Areas Also to be represented.

Srinagar Dec. 10. Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah, Kashmir declared today that the decisions of the C. A. proposed to be set up in the State would apply to Pakistan held areas of the State also.

Seats would be reserved in it for representatives of those areas, he said.

The Premier was addressing a meeting at Uri near the cease fire line, where he had gone to transfer land from landlords to



cultivators.

The election to the Kashmir C. A. will be held in May 1951 or before Sept. at the latest. The State Govt., Franchise Deptt. has completed ~~prelimi~~ preliminary work in connection with preparation of electoral rolls and is busy now settling various details.

The size of the Assembly is stated to have been tentatively proposed to be 100 members on the basis of one representative for every 40,000 people, the state's total population being roughly 40,00,000.

The C. A. has to decide the future of the state, consider the measures taken by the Govt. for all round amelioration of the people, the Acts which change the proprietary rights of the people such as, Compensation to the dispossessed land lords, Debt Conciliation Act & others and the future status of the Ruling family.

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Struggle ~~for~~ ~~for~~

16-12-1950

~~Cons~~ Cons Assembly For Kashmir

with the announcement of the formation of a C. A. in Kashmir and the consequent preparations to fight the elections, Kashmir affairs have taken a new and at last the realistic turn. The election to the C. A. will be fought on the following issues:—

- 1) whether Kashmir is to remain with India or not.
- 2) whether the monarchical system is to



continue or not 3) Question of Compensation to land-owners arising from the recent radical land reforms in the state.

With the failure of the U.N. to solve the Kashmir imbroglio the would be C.A. is the only and the most genuine medium which can express Kashmiri wishes on any and every matter.

#### Double Game

As we expected, this decision of the present temporary Kashmir Govt., has caused grave concern in Pakistan as the U.N. Charter has yet to be plugged with such a clause which can overrule people's expressions regarding their domestic issues. Accordingly Liaquat Ali has once again invited Mr. Nehru to Karachi to discuss the outstanding issues between India & Pakistan.

The time is propitious for Pakistan because it is apprehended that Pakistan may threaten to intervene directly in Nepal if Karachi is not given a carte blanche in every matter.

If past is any guide we think Pakistan will once more try to take over Kashmir flustering Mr. Nehru. In case Liaquat Ali fails in this way then he may order Pakistan troops to march in to Kashmir territory.

— X —



Hindustan Times

(A letter)

18/12/1950

(is the same as a statement)

Dec. 12 From: Bannu

To: Balakrishna Sahib. Dy. P.M.  
& Zutshi)

Kevalraj Vishnu Gupta, President of the  
J & K Sahayak Sabha, has issued the following  
statement regarding C. A. to the press.

Statement being

Heading: Another move for "Independent  
Kashmir"

→ view on Kashmir

Sir, The people of Jammu & Kashmir are surprised  
at the announcement made by the Kashmir. N. C.  
that a separate C. A. is soon to be set up for  
the state. The most surprising thing is that the  
P. M. of India is reported to have accepted  
the proposition, which virtually means the  
acceptance by him of the position that the  
area of the J & K state at present controlled  
by Pakistan is no longer a part of Jammu  
& Kashmir, because the people who would  
be able to participate in these elections  
for the proposed C. A. would not be  
representing two-fifth of the territory



of J & K now held by Pakistan nor the 15  
lacks out of the 40 lacks of the people  
of the State living there. These elections would,  
therefore, merely mean the de facto recognition  
of the authority of Pakistan over the territory  
held by it at present.

It appears that Sheikh Abdullah, the P.M.  
of J & K State, who has always been aspiring for  
an "Independent Kashmir" (this move seems  
to be sponsored by the Anglo-Americans who  
on the one hand want to take away as  
much part of the J & K State from India  
as possible and to give it to Pakistan &  
to make the remaining part of the State  
quite independent.) ~~It~~ This initiative has  
been taken on the suggestion of some important  
American personalities who visited Kashmir  
a few months ago and who had long discussions  
with Sheikh Abdullah on this subject. So far as  
the people residing in the Indian held Territory of  
Jammu & Kashmir are concerned there is absolutely  
no necessity of ascertaining their view through  
such C.A. because ~~the~~ <sup>these</sup> times without  
number all the political parties of the State  
have given their unanimous verdict  
for accession to India and the  
proposed Assembly representing only a  
portion of the State. Therefore, ~~to~~



can have no force behind it.  
It is not understandable ~~with~~ why the  
J & K state has been elected for a separate  
c. A when the 500 and more states  
which have acceded to the Indian Union,  
just like the J & K state, did not need  
any. The Indian Constitution is comprehensive  
enough & there is no reason why it should  
not be made fully applicable to J & K  
state also.

When lakhs of J & K people  
uprooted during the pakistani raids  
in Kashmir, are rotting in and outside  
the J & K state for the last three years  
and no arrangement for their rehabilitation  
has been made, when thousands of  
abducted women in the clutches of  
pakistans are passing miserably days  
and are subjected to inhuman atrocities  
and no arrangement for their recovery  
is being made, these elections if held  
at all, would not only be a farce, but  
would involve waste of a huge amount  
of money as no useful purpose can  
be served by them. It would be  
far better if this money is spent on  
the rehabilitation of the poor refugees



of the State who have been in a miserable plight for the last three years.

Under such circumstances it would be suicidal for the govt of India to allow any C. A to be formed in the State until the and unless the entire State has been wrested from the hands of the Pakistani usurpers.

No elections must be allowed to be held there unless normal conditions prevail, enabling the thousands of the citizens of the State living in India, in refugee camps and in the enemies hands to return to their homes. In the meantime the President of Indian Union must enforce the Indian Constitution in the State so that the people there may also breathe free air and may be enabled to exercise civil liberties like other citizens of the Indian Union.

If, despite all opposition, a separate C. A is forced upon the J & K. people they will have no other alternative but to boycott the elections. - yours etc.

Kaviraj Vishnu Gupta.

President Sahitya Akademi, Jammu. Digitized by eGangotri



Hindusthan Standard

23/12/50.

Uncertainty About Kashmir Must End.  
Sheikh Abdullah's Statement.

Consensus to decide vital issues  
no Decision of Country on Basis of  
Religion.

(The Kashmir Premier Sheikh Abdullah speaking  
at a reception given him by West Bengal  
provincial Congress Committee in Calcutta on  
Friday afternoon).

" whatever Pakistan may say or do,  
we are bent up on having a C.A. to take  
vital decisions there, for that is the only  
way to end the long uncertainty about Kashmir,  
declared by Kashmir Premier, Sheikh  
Abdullah speaking at a reception given to  
him by West Bengal Provincial Conference  
Committee on Friday afternoon.

The Kashmir Premier said that the  
uncertainty which had been hanging



over Kashmir for long must be ended. Kashmir has nothing to do with U. N. The U. N. business was between India & Pakistan. So far as the people of Kashmir was concerned they wanted to end uncertainty by calling a C. A.

"What ever Pakistan may say or do we are bent upon having a C. A. and taken decisions there on vital problems which have been facing us so long" he said.

He said that in Kashmir they were fighting for a principle which was worth living and dying for, the principle being human brotherhood without segregation of communities. Pakistan felt and had been telling the world that Kashmir being a predominantly muslim state, it should follow Pakistan. If Pakistan was so confident about that, it should not place any difficulty in the way of calling the C. A.

They had decided, the Kashmir premier said, to call the C. A. & he believed they had the sympathy of the people of the entire world including Pakistan in this matter and with this sympathy he hoped



they would win. whatever might happen they would not allow pakistan to have her own way. they did not mean any enmity towards pakistan. But they had never been a believer in the two-nation theory of Mr. Jinnah. Bengal knew better, the Kashmir Prime Minister said, what have been the result of this theory. therefore, the people of Bengal could understand better why they were resisting pakistan.

Hindustan Times

Delhi

23/12/50 . page 5 col. 6.

Kashmir Assembly

Sir, Kavidaj Vishnu Gupta has criticized the proposed formation of the C.A. in Kashmir State. There are certain points in the letter which are likely to mislead the public in India. So I would like to take this opportunity to clarify these.

Mr. Gupta has vainly tried to raise the issue of 'Independent Kashmir', which has time and again been refuted by



Sheikh Abdullah. I will not say anything in connection with the rumour "that this initiative have been taken on the suggestions from important American personalities." and it is not yet confirmed and Mr. Gupta should have made himself sure before putting it in black and white. I can say emphatically that there has not been any rumour of this kind and there has not been any such suggestion from any American quarter.

Success of India's stand on Kashmir depends to much extent on the strength of the N.C. We are fortunate to have a progressive and established leadership in Kashmir. My plea is that every effort should immediately be made to restore the sense of normality to the people of the State. Kashmir should be more considered as a war zone with an uncertain future. War is no solution of any problem and the tables of war do not help Kashmir. In no way Kashmiri people should have the sense of separatism or even of abnormality. They should be made to feel as secure and normal as the people in any other part of India do.

But as long as the Kashmir issue hangs in the balance Kashmir's relation with India would not be as certain as that of any other State of India. If the present trend of the S.C. continues, there is no likelihood of an immediate settlement



of the dispute. A plebiscite is absolutely impracticable under existing circumstances. All that can be done to ascertain the will of the people is to constitute C. A., as has already been proposed, based on adult franchise. Let it decide the future setup of the State. So in view of all these such a representative assembly is an urgent necessity for the Democratic functioning of the Govt., it is the only formula by which one party system can be reconciled with the Democratic ways of life since it is not advisable at this stage to have a parliamentary Democracy. The N. C. should remain the only & common platform of all pro-Indian forces. I would also like to make one thing clear that the people of the State decided to accede to India after thorough deliberations and without any sort of pressure from outside. We have acceded to India & we mean to make our accession permanent. Even if a plebiscite is held, not once but one hundred and one times. Our decisions will be the same. Our link with India is firm & unbreakable & no power on earth can sever it. There



should be no doubt of any kind in the mind of Indian people about the loyalty of Kashmir as it helps nothing, but creates misunderstanding.

Yours etc.

Gurcharan Singh Bhatia

Gen. Sec. Jammu & K. Youth Conference  
Delhi.

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Amrit Bazar Patrika.  
23/12/50 page 8 <sup>Calcutta</sup> col. 4, 5.

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Constituent Assembly For Kashmir  
& Jammu.

25 seats to be kept vacant for  
Pakistan-Held Area.

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Srinagar Dec. 20

on the assumption that nearly one-fourth of the territory in J & K is still held by Pakistan, Sheikh Abdullah's Govt., it transpires will keep 20 or 25 seats vacant for the Pakistan-held parts of the state out of the total of 100 seats proposed for the C. A. Besides giving its verdict regarding the states



accession issue, the C.A. will also decide  
the future of the monarchy in J & K  
& become Constitution for the entire State.

In this connection Sheikh Abdullah along  
with his principal secretary & constitutional  
adviser is now busy at Delhi holding  
consultations with the Govt. of India.

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Indian Express . Madras  
24/12/50 Page 3 Col 3.

Elections to Kashmir C.A.

Enumeration of voters to begin.

Jammu Dec. 22.

Enumeration of voters for the forthcoming  
elections of the C.A. of J & K is scheduled  
to begin in the next 48 hours.

The Govt. is expected to pass an  
Act shortly laying down the procedure of  
elections. Official circles here expect  
that on the basis of 1941 Census and allowing  
for subsequent changes in the population  
and other related factors about 19 to  
20 lakhs of adult voters would go



to polls next summer throughout the State. The number of seats in the proposed A. has not been fixed. But it is learnt there will be one seat for every 40,000 of the population.

The question of reservation of seats for backward areas is under consideration of the Govt.

Enumeration of voters is expected to take fifty days in Jammu Province and two months in Kashmir Valley & the former Buddhist province of Ladakh.

Mr. D. P. Shah, the newly-appointed Dy. Minister for Franchise of the State, said at a press conference today that "no power on earth can interfere with the exercise of right of self-determination of our people and no political influences or party prejudices will be countenanced by the Govt. in the preparation of electoral rolls and other connected work. Civil liberty will be enjoyed by every citizen consistent with the security of the State irrespective of the caste or creed or political faith before during election."

Every effort would be made to make the election absolutely free & impartial he added.



Hindus lam standard, Calcutta

Dt 28-12-50

Srinagar Dec. 26.

Amidst great enthusiasm the work of enrolling voters to the proposed constituency for Kashmir started yesterday simultaneously in all parts of the state.

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X

Hindus lam standard, Calcutta

Dt 28/12/50

Dacca Dec 25 — Pakistan's Prime Minister,

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, stated here today that there was no new path for the settlement of Kashmir problem when he met pressmen informally on the eve of his return to Karachi on the conclusion of his East Bengal tour.

When his attention was drawn to the report that Sheikh Abdullah was convening a C.A. in Kashmir to frame a constitution for the state and ratify its accession to India the P.M. remarked, "It is a farce and it would be a bogus Assembly, Pakistan would never recognise it."



Times of India

Bombay.

5/1/51

Page 7

col. 4.

## Kashmir Elections

According to a State Govt. spokesman  
over 19,00,000 adults will vote in the election

Amrita Bazar Patrika.

Calcutta

5/1/51

page 7

col. 4.

Election to the

Assembly For Kashmir

Elections likely in June this year.

Srinagar Jan 3 — Election to the popular

C. A. is likely to be held in June this year,

The official spokesman of Govt. added about  
ten lakhs voters would be enrolled in  
Kashmir province alone.



Free Press - Journal Bombay.

16/1/51 Page I Col. 7.  
Kashmir Gets Ready for Elections

Del Srinagar Jan - 14.

Despite heavy sn

According to a rough estimate the number of about ~~the~~ adult voters estimate ~~the~~ in the state will be about 18,00,000. The total population of the Indian held Kashmir is about 34,00,000. It is proposed to have one representative for every 40,000 population. on this basis there would over two seats in the Assembly. The C. A is expected to meet by Sept. next at the latest —

Eastern Economist New Delhi.

2/3/1951 Page ~~329~~ 329 Col. No. I

### Resolution on Kashmir

The Anglo-U.S. resolution on Kashmir tabled before the S.C. on Feb. 21 although unpopular must be reckoned that the first sign of a firm determination of the sponsors to help India and Pakistan to get over a deadlock which has dragged on over three years. Reaction to it in this country has been one of resentment, but this does not imply that it has no



chance of success success

Times of India · Bombay ·

5/3/51 Page 1 Col. 7.

Kashmir Elections  
Jammu. March 4: In spite of the Anglo-American  
sponsored resolution in the S.C., the Kashmir  
Govt. seem to be determined to proceed  
with elections to the C. A and work  
in connection with them has been accelera-  
-ted. Enumeration of over 14 lakh adult voters  
has been completed and a provisional list  
will be published in April. It is proposed  
to hold elections in June.

Hindusthan Times

7/3/51

Page 1

Delhi ·  
Col. N. 2.

Constituent Body For Kashmir

Idea Not Sponsored by India.

The J & K govt. exercised full authority  
over the state and <sup>was</sup> completely autonomous  
in all matters except defence external



affairs and Communications, a Govt. spokesman  
declared in Delhi on Monday

The spokesman who was commenting  
on alleged Pakistan propaganda that the Govt.  
of India were - "running the show" in  
Kashmir, reaffirmed the view that the

authority of the Indian Govt. over the  
Govt. of J & K was limited only to these  
three categories as expressed by Mr. Rau

in his statement at S.C. recently.

The spokesman also denied reports that  
the Govt. of India has sponsored the proposed  
C. A. for J & K.

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U. N. Debate on Kashmir  
Text of Shri B. N. Rau's reply.

Lalce Success, March 12, 1951.

India's Delegate, Shri B. N. Rau, made  
the following statement in the S.C. on Friday March  
9, 1951, in reply to the speech made by Sir  
Mohamed Zafrullah Khan. —

" Mr. President:

The distinguished Foreign Minister of  
Pakistan has covered a good deal of ground  
in his speech. Much of it is ancient history,  
hardly calling for any new reply. I shall  
only deal with the more important points.



The first point I should like to deal with is the allegation - that the accession of Kashmir to India was a result of Conspiracy, in which Sheikh Abdullah, the present P. M. of Kashmir, was a tool. "How else", it is asked, could the Indian army have been flown to Srinagar

on the very day Lord Mountbatten accepted the accession, viz 27th Oct. 1947?

The P. M. of India in a broadcast or otherwise published the full facts at the time. Let me

read out the pertinent portions of what he said:

"It was on the 24th night that for the first time the request was made to us on behalf of the Kashmir State for accession and military help. On the 25th morning we considered this in the Defence

Committee, but no decision was taken

about sending troops in view of the obvious difficulties of the undertaking. On 26th

morning we again considered the matter.

The situation was even more critical then.

The raiders had sacked several towns and had destroyed the great power house at Mahvora which supplies electricity to

the whole of Kashmir. They were at the point of entering the valley. The fate of Srinagar, Srinagar & the whole of Kashmir hung in the balance."



"we received urgent messages for aid not only from the Maharaja's govt, but from the representatives of the people, notably from the great leader of Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, president of the N.C. Both the Kashmir Govt, & N.C. pressed us to accept this accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union. We decided to accept this accession & send troops by air, but made a condition that the accession would have to be considered by the people of Kashmir later, when peace & order were established. It was for them ultimately to decide."

Had we desired a pretext for either Kashmir's accession or for sending our troops there, we should not have waited to accomplish our purpose until half of the valley of Kashmir and parts of the Jammu province have been given to the fire & sword and Srinagar itself was in peril of capture by raiders with all its horrors."

"We decided to send troops on the afternoon of 26th Oct. when Srinagar was in peril & the situation was urgent and critical. Our staff worked hard that day & night and at day break on 27th, our troops went by air. They were small in number to begin with, but immediately on arrival they rushed



Tribune 5-2-1954.

IV

## Constitution of Kashmir

The reports of the Basic Principles Committee & the Advisory Committee on F.Rs & Citizenship which Mr. Dasgupta, the Revenue Minister of Kashmir, presented to the State

C.A. on Wednesday reveal a remarkable similarity in the political ideas of India & Kashmir. The Constitution of Kashmir is to be democratic & secular. The authors of the Basic Principles Committee have boldly proclaimed the ~~demo~~ doctrine of popular sovereignty & have recommended a Constitution which fully translates this ~~doctrine~~ doctrine into practice. They have proposed adult franchise, parliamentary form of govt with the Council of Ministers responsible to the Legislature, independent judiciary & public service Commission, fundamental rights of citizenship & an elected Head of the State.

They have wisely rejected the proposal made by one of their colleagues that the State Constitution should include the right of recall of the Assembly members.

Even in countries where political consciousness is highly developed among the people Recall & Referendum have



we would a success. The secular nature of the State is clearly affirmed in the Advisory Committee on F.R.s. Equality of Rights to all citizens irrespective of Religion, Caste, race, sex or place of birth is to be assured in the Constitution. The guiding principle of the State policy, according to the B.P. Committee, would be to ensure the re-building of the State in order to secure a better & prosperous life to its people. Kashmir's association with India is born not of political expediency but of common political values, of faith in common ideals.

The B.P. Committee has rightly insisted that it is high time the State Constitution C.A. expressed in clear & precise terms the relationship of the State with India and defined the extent of the Union's jurisdiction over the State. As the Committee points out, the accession of the State to the Union entails certain responsibilities on the centre for protecting the interests of the State & for its



social & economic development or  
can discharge these responsibilities effec-  
tively only when it is armed with  
adequate power. The anxiety of the  
people of Kashmir to preserve their  
autonomy is fully appreciated in this  
Country. It is obvious that Kashmir  
cannot derive full advantage from its  
association with India unless it  
participates in the social & economic  
activities of the Union. Financial  
& economic integration of Kashmir  
with the Union will help to stimulate  
trade & industry in the State. The B. P.  
Committee has recommended that the Supreme  
Court should have both original & appellate  
jurisdiction in Kashmir. It is recognised  
in the report of F. Rs that the people  
should have the right to appeal to  
the highest tribunal of the land, the  
S. Court of India, for the protection  
of their rights & liberties. The acceptance  
by Kashmir of the jurisdiction of the  
Supreme Court in the matter of F. Rs  
will be a great step forward on the  
road to unity between a brief



" we the Committee on ~~the~~ has proposed  
the adoption of ~~the~~ scheme of guarant  
rights based, more or ~~less~~ on the Indian  
pattern, It has, ~~the~~ ~~the~~ recommend  
certain changes in the ~~the~~ of fundamental  
rights guaranteed in part III of the  
Indian Constitution to suit local conditions  
The State govt's programme of agrarian  
reform including the acquisition of land  
for public purposes without compensation cannot

be implemented if the right to property  
guaranteed in the Indian Constitution  
is extended to Kashmir. The Govt. of India  
have rightly recognised that the article  
in the Constitution relating to compensation  
for property taken over by the State should  
not be permitted to stand in the way of  
agrarian reforms introduced by the State  
& has agreed to the modification of the  
Article for Kashmir. Again, so long as  
a preferential treatment is to be accorded  
to the state subjects, regarding the acquisition  
& holding of immovable property & employment  
under the state, Kashmir cannot guarantee  
the ~~the~~ the same rights of citizenship  
guaranteed in part III of the



not in fundamentals differ from or violate the provisions of the Indian Constitution.

"It is imperative that in matters of fundamental rights, complete jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, control of and supervision by the Auditor General & Election Commission, the State Constitution should not have dissimilar provisions," he said.

Indian Express, Delhi

31-7-1956

Parishad To observe  
"Protest day"

Indian  
Constitution  
making

Tamiraparani July 30, The J & P. P has  
were to observe "Protest Day" on  
are being given in the people's feeling.

J & L, the President, exhibition separate  
Shri. Sadiq, had talk to a. L. K. State.  
where here.

the Union Home Minister, Shri  
Pant, it is learnt, will pay a brief



Morning Times co lombo.

Kashmir begins

Talks on draft Constitution.

New Delhi - Wednesday.

Constitution  
making

High Level Consultations on Kashmir draft Constitution have begun here with the arrival of Mr. Dhar Deputy Home Minister of Kashmir.

Later Bakshi Ghulam Mohamed the Kashmir P. M. & Mr. Dogra the Finance Minister are expected to join these talks.

one of the problems that has confronted the Constitutional experts & makers is whether Kashmir should have a bicameral or unicameral Legislative body.

The Times of India

Constitution  
making

again, so long as  
of treatment is to be accorded

Srinagar subjects, regarding the acquisition of immovable property & employment under the state, Kashmir cannot guarantee the same rights of citizenship as are guaranteed in part III of the



Committee .

Mr. Vishnu Sahay, Union Secretary for Kashmir Affairs, and the Union Finance Secretary Mr. Bhattacharya, who are also here participated in these talks.

The Drafting Committee will finalise the draft within a week in the light to these discussions.

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Free Press Journal  
Bombay.

6/9/1956.

Kashmir New Constitution.

Constitution  
making

Nehru - Sardar - talks .  
were Delhi . Sept. 4. As final touches are being given to the new constitution of J & K, the President of Kashmir Assembly Shri. Sardar, had talks today with P. M. Nehru here.

the Union Home Minister, Shri Pant, it is learnt, will pay a brief



visit to Kashmir on the 18th of the  
month & confer with Shri Balcatti, Shri  
Sachiy & other leaders.

Assam Tribune

Gauhati.

Constitution  
protest

26/9/56

Constitution for Kashmir

Jamome Sept 24.

An Anti-separate Constitution  
Conference" convened by the P. P. yesterday,  
passed a resolution unanimously stating that  
there could not be two constitutional set-ups  
in India - one for Kashmir & the  
other for the rest of the Country.

The resolution said acceptance of this  
principle as regards one part of India,  
would encourage disruptive elements in  
other parts of the Country also.

Jonas Abdul Rehman, member of the  
Parishad Executive who moved the resolution  
said that the Muslim Majority in the  
state wanted the Indian Constitution  
for the State.



Mail                      Madras.

Mail                      Madras.

10-10-56.

An Elected Head of state For Louisiana  
 Under, official language,  
 & separate flag.

Draft Constitution presented -

Mail

Madras

11/10/56

Constitution  
Presented  
Protect by  
P. 7. 1911. Ag

Opposition Group Boycotts Leashlines

## Assembly Sessions

work out lined by Sheikh Abdullah  
now fulfilled, says Balasahi.

Shrinagar, Oct 11.

✓ Four members of the opposition group in the Kashmir c. A yesterday boycotted the proceedings of the House, to which the Draft Constitution of Kashmir & Jammu was presented (reported in yesterday's Mail).

Part 3. The leader of the group, Mr. Gshulam Mohiuddin Hama Dami, told press men later that they had boycotted the presentation of the Draft Constitution to the House.



## Consensually Protest

because they felt that after August 9, 1953 (the day on which Sheikh Abdullah was arrested) this House has lost its representative character. "Top-ranking leaders had been dismissed & arrested and were still in jail."

The fifth member of the opposition group, who belongs to the Praja - Socialist party attended the proceedings.

The Draft Constitution was presented to the C. A. by Mr. G. L. Dogra, Finance Minister & Chairman of the Drafting Committee.

The Dawn Karachi.

Oct. 11, 1956.

boy cut by  
P.F.

Four opposition members boycotted today Session of Srinagar Assembly



Deccan Herald

Bongalor

12/10/56.

Opposition  
for flag.

Passing Anomalies

If a national flag has any meaning, the provision in the Kashmir Constitution just presented for a separate flag for the state gives it a status incompatible with the absence of powers even for the issue of passport of its citizens. A country's flag is the emblem of its sovereignty in exercise of which it forges relations with foreign powers. The case of Kashmir is so clearly different, since a postulate of the Kashmir Constitution is that the state is an inalienable and integral part of India, and no Kashmiri not accepting the Act of Accession endorsed long ago by the C.A., is entitled to seek popular suffrage. In other words, the C.A. rightly recognises that every Kashmiri is an Indian entitled to the privilege of citizenship & liable to its obligations. The specific provision for a Kashmiri flag



in the State's Constitution must therefore be interpreted as a concession to Kashmiri sentiment, though it is arguable that the State's relations with India being governed by specific agreements, leave enough scope for enjoyment by the Kashmiri of prerogatives not available to the average Indian citizen.

Eight years have passed since the State legally became ~~the~~ part of Free India, and events in this period have wrought changes imparting invincible strength to this association. It is time that the reality got legal recognition which alone could do away with the present inconsistency in our stand on Kashmir — justly claiming before the world that the State is part of India, but acquiescing to our internal relations being characterised by a sense of uncertainty. It is true that many of the clauses in the Kashmir Constitution including that which gives the State a flag, are purely temporary, but the time has definitely come for make-shift arrangements to be substituted by enduring bonds of irrevocable integration.

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Times of India

12/10/56

Bombay.

### New Kashmir

perhaps many in this Country felt that there was no need for Kashmir to have the luxury of a separate Constitution, & that the measures of autonomy enjoyed by the other States under the Union Constitution would also do for her. No one will, however, grudge the State the right to define its final relationship with this Country in its own way. The draft Constitution introduced in the State ~~the~~ C.A. this week at last ends the long drawn out period of uncertainty and is designed to make the State's accession to this Country irrevocable. It lays down in clear terms that the State is an integral part of India & that no Bill can be moved in the State Legislature which seeks to alter that position or change any provision of the Constitution of India which is applicable to Kashmir. After this such small anomalies as the intention of the State to have a separate flag fall pale into insignificance. The State Legislature will have only slightly wider powers than similar bodies in other parts



of the Country. For example, it will have the dismissal of the Sadar-i-Riyasat.

But it can be taken for granted that it will not exercise this power except under the gravest provocation. On the other hand, in the case of a Constitutional breakdown the

Sadar-i-Riyasat can assume to himself all the functions of govt with the concurrence of the Union President. In the definition of directives of policy the draft in some respects goes even beyond the Indian Constitution.

For instance, it lays down a time limit of ten years in which the State must provide compulsory education for all children up to the age of fourteen. The directives principles also enjoin the separation of the

Judiciary from the executive & a State wide organisation of panchayats as units of self govt. If the Constitution

is worked in the spirit in which it has been drafted, the State will have a more than equal place in the wide

Community of Indian peoples who are now engaged in building a better future for themselves



Search light

Patna.

12/10/56

Page 4. Col - 2.

### Kashmir Draft Constitution.

Although it would seem to be a queer arrangement under which a state was permitted to frame its separate constitution, Kashmir has already been allowed this privilege for certain special reasons and there is no point raising up the controversy. However, certain apprehensions expressed on that account by Jai Jan Sangh leaders and others have been proved groundless by the provisions of the draft constitution for the state presented in the Kashmir C. A. on Wednesday by Mr. G. L. Dogra Finance Minister and

Chairman of the drafting Committee. Not only the accession of the state to India has been confirmed, but the state legislature has been expressly debarred from making any amendment in future seeking to change the provisions relating to Kashmir's relationship with India. This means that Kashmir indissolubly remains an integral part of India. In the first draft of Kashmir prepared by Sheikh Abdullah and whose provisions leaked out

which  
Accession  
Constitution



to the Indian people through the columns of this newspaper there was a provision that the state could secede from India if the Legislature so wanted. This was the first indication of Sheikh Abdullah's secret plans to make Kashmir an independent state & become its ruler. Thereafter, although the Sheikh & members of his caucus were arrested, the danger of a separatist tendency was always lurking. All co-conspirators of Abdullah are not in jail. Many of them are still at large operating in Kashmir & trying to spread the poison of communal fanaticism. Any provision for secession might admirably suit a person like Sheikh Abdullah who may come into power in Kashmir.

The draft constitution does provide for an independent judiciary. But the procedure for appointment of high court judges is so faulty that the judiciary can scarcely remain independent or impartial. It has been provided that the Chief Justice as well as other judges



of the high Court would be appointed  
by the Sadar-i-Riyasat. If the Sadar  
-i-Riyasat would have been appointed  
by the President of India, he would  
not have been influenced by local politics  
in making the choice. But the Constitution  
provides that the Sadar-i-Riyasat would  
be elected by the majority of the members  
of the Legislature. It may, therefore,  
become necessary for him to agree to give  
all kinds of patronage to get himself elected.

The proper thing would have been to  
appoint the high Court chief justice &  
other judges with the concurrence of  
the chief justice of the Supreme Court  
of India which is the practice for  
other States in India.

perhaps in course of time, it  
will be found by experience that  
certain provisions needed amendment. Among  
them may be the method of selection of the  
Sadar-i-Riyasat. Likewise, about the language  
also there will be need for bestowing a  
second thought to the issue. While the  
official language of the State may, and  
indeed should, remain Urdu there should  
be a provision in the Constitution that  
the national language of India



should be used for inter-state communi-  
-cations. Otherwise, there will be something  
approaching chaos. Bakshi Ghulam  
Mohd. is a far-sighted person.  
It should be confidently ~~expressed~~ expected  
that before the constitution is given final  
shape, he will succeed in removing all  
such lacunae. The passing of the constitution  
should end the Kashmir controversy. In  
the fitness of things, one fourth of the  
seats in the legislature will be left  
vacant for areas which are now  
occupied by Pakistan. Perhaps a  
day will come when "Azad" Kashmiris  
will break their chains & join their  
other Kashmiri brothers to breathe  
an air of freedom

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The Tribune am bala.

12-10-1956.

### Financial integration proposed.

Srinagar: Oct. 10 — Complete financial  
integration of J & K state with India  
has been proposed in a resolution moved  
in Kashmir C.A. today by Sayer Mir  
Qasim, the Revenue Minister.



The resolution seeks to enable the Comptroller & Auditor General of India to exercise the same functions, duties & jurisdiction in Kashmir as in the rest of India.

The Finance Minister, Mr. G. L. Dogra supported the resolution which will come for discussion in the next session of the C. A.

The Dawn — Karachi

27 Oct 13, 1956.

occupied Kashmir

✓  
protest on  
Constitution  
Draft Constitution unacceptable

Delhi. Oct 12. The draft of occupied Kashmir's Constitution presented to Srinagar

'Assembly' on Oct 10, is ~~not~~ wholly unacceptable to Kashmiri people." The working

Committee of the Kashmir Democratic Union

said here yesterday."



The Pakistan Times Oct. 14, 1956

~~Constitution~~  
~~Protest~~

Bid to eliminate Muslim majority in  
Jammu & Kashmir

people's opposition to Draft Constitution

Muzaffarabad Oct 13. Azad Kashmir political  
circles believe that the India-inspired  
draft constitution presented in the Srinagar  
C.A. will meet with nothing but contempt  
from the people of occupied Kashmir.

Hindustan Standard

Cuttack

15/10/56 page 7 col 4.

~~Constitution~~  
~~Opposition~~

New Delhi Oct 12 - Pandit Phool Nath  
Dogra President of the J & K Praja  
Parishad said today that a separate  
constitution for J & K state would  
encourage separatism in the state which  
is bound to endanger the unity of  
India in the foreseeable future."



"what is even worse" he said in a statement "is that the proposed Constitution for Kashmir is materially different from the Indian Constitution in both spirit & Content"

The Draft Constitution for the state would cause "great disappointment" to the people of the state & the parishad would oppose each & every provision which sought to create a distinction between Kashmir & India, he added. The Constitution of India had laid down single citizenship for the whole of India including J & K state but the proposed Constitution for Kashmir had made a distinction between permanent residents of the Kashmir & citizens of the rest of India. "this is bound to create a feeling of separation" he said."

pt. Dogra also criticised the provisions for election of the head of the state, in dependence of the Kashmir High Court from the Supreme Court, provision for a separate elections commission & Urdu being made the official language of the state.



Monarchy  
Constitution

As regards election of head of state Pt. Dogra said the provisions would make the Sadar-i-Riyasat a person in the hands of the party in power & as such would not be able to perform the function of the head of the State.

Independence of judiciary, he said, was unthinkable when the High Court Judge were appointed by the Sadar-i-Riyasat "who will not be independent in his choice."

on the choice of Urdu as the official language he said Urdu has never been the language of the people of the State who spoke either Dogri or Kashmiri

"It must therefore, adopt Dogri & Kashmiri as official language for local use & Hindi, about which not a word has been in the Constitution must take place of English."

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Dawn - Karachi

Front  
of  
Constitution 17-10-1956.

Draft Constitution Farce & Mockery?

Kashmiri parties inform M.P.s of  
Bharati tactics.

Ramalpindi Oct 16. Reports from the  
occupied Kashmir speak of deep  
repentment among the people against  
the presentation of a draft Constitution to  
the so-called - so-called C. A."

The plebiscite Front in a  
message to some Bharati M.P.s said the  
fascist clique thrust by the Bharati  
govt., of Kashmiris were forcing on  
them an unacceptable Constitution.

The Times

London.

20, Oct. 1956.

Srinagar Oct. 19. (From our correspondent).

To enable them to take part in framing  
the Constitution, the Kashmir Govt., to-day  
ordered the release of five members  
of the C. A., including Mirza Mohd  
Afzal Beg, the former Minister of Revenue



and the founder president of the plebiscite  
front opposition party.

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They are expected to decide on Sunday  
their attitude towards attending the  
meeting of the C. A. on Oct 22, when  
it reassembles to discuss the draft  
Constitution presented to it on Oct. 10.

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Mail                      Madras.

Df 20/11/56.

Kashmir Assembly.

5 detained members to be released  
Srinagar Oct 20, The Kashmir  
Govt., has decided to release five  
members of the C. A. to facilitate  
their participation in the discussions  
on the Draft Constitution in the Assembly  
which meets on Monday next.

They are. Messrs Afzal Beg, (R.M.)  
Mubarak Shah former Deputy Minister,  
Hakim Habibullah, Abdulgani,  
Groz & Gulam Mahomed Beg.



The release of these members, it is explained here, is part of govt's policy to extend opportunities to all political parties to participate in the forthcoming elections.

Hindustan Times  
New Delhi

21/10/56.

## Regional Bodies For Kashmir

Jammu Oct. 20.

other Rightist  
party in Jammu  
opposed

The Dogra Sadar Sabha has declared that the draft Constitution, as presented in the State C. A. on Oct. 10, is not acceptable to the people of the State.

The Sabha, in a resolution, said it had felt "shocked" seeking that none of the two alternative applications of the Indian Constitution in its entirety to the State or provincial autonomy for different units of the State — had been embodied in the draft. The Sabha has consequently suggested the following amendments to the Draft Constitution.

Dogra  
Sadar  
Art 370  
abrogation

- ① Art 370 of the Indian Constitution should be repealed "as the emergency contemplated no longer exists."



2. Instead of the Sadr-i-Rayasat, there should be a Governor.

3. There should be no separate flag for the state. The official language of the state should be Hindi instead of Urdu.

4. In case provincial autonomy is not possible at present, regional councils like those in Punjab with similar powers should be set up "to minimize the effects of permanent communal as well as provincial majority."

5. A statutory provision should be made to ensure proper and proportionate representation in the services, stipends & development grants for different units of the state.

6) Elections in the state should be conducted under the Election Commissioner of India.

7. There should be no second House of the state Legislature. In case it is felt necessary, election to it should be direct.



8) The ~~is~~ invidious distinction between permanent citizens & other citizens of the state should be removed.

9. The President of India should nominate the Head of the state & should also have the same powers to declare emergency in J & K State as in other states

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Bombay chronicle

Bombay.

24/10/56.

He wanted Sheikh Abdullah to be Brought There.

Srinagar Oct. 22.

When the Kashmir C.A met this morning to ~~the~~ begin discussion on the draft Constitution of the state, Mirza Afzal Beg Ex-Minister, who was released from his detention on Saturday last tabled a motion seeking adjournment of the House for two weeks "so as to give adequate time to the govt. to arrange for the presence of Sheikh Abdullah in the House."

Constitution  
P. P. House



The president G. M. Sadiq, disallowed the motion on the ground that it did not conform to the rules of the business & was not connected with the work of the day as required under the rules

Times of India  
Bombay.

25/10/56.

P. Front  
walk out

Walk-out. By M. L. A's.

Srinagar Oct 24. The former Revenue Minister, Mirza Afzal Beg & eight other members of the plebiscite front, walked out to day <sup>of C.A.</sup> after questioning its competence to frame a constitution for Jammu & Kashmir

consensus  
conflict  
P. Front

Pioneer

Lucknow.

26/10/56.

Baluchistan defends sovereignty of Consensus.

Srinagar Oct. 25.



Balkashi Gihulam Mohd. P. M. declared today that the Sovereign C. A. of J & K refused to be dictated by whims & caprices of nine or ten members "who have staged a volte face"

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The Times  
London

27 Oct. 1956.

Kashmir plebiscite opposed

(From our Correspondent)

Srinagar Oct 26.

Balkashi Gihulam Mohd, the Chief Minister of Kashmir, yesterday reiterated his opposition to a plebiscite in Kashmir & said that the C. A. had supplanted it. Addressing the Assembly, which is now considering the draft Constitution, he declared that it was fully sovereign & absolutely competent to satisfy the accession of the State to India & to frame a Constitution.

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Hindustan Times  
New Delhi

29/10/56.

Constitution  
opposed → Kashmiri Hindu & Sikh  
Body's protest.

Srinagar Oct. 28.

The Hindu Sahayak Sabha, a representative body of Kashmiri Hindus & Sikhs, at a meeting of its executive committee passed a resolution protesting against the defining of the state subject in the draft constitution. It said the condition precedent to the acquisition of immovable property and the drawing deadline by fixing a date is "unfair, hard, arbitrary & an anachronism in the present democratic set-up" and urged its deletion.

Dawn - Karachi

Oct 30, 1956.

Srinagar C.A. passes clause  
saying Kashmir is part of



Bhart.'

Srinagar Oct 24. The so-called C. A. of occupied Kashmir today passed a clause in the draft Constitution 'stating that Kashmir "is and shall be an integral part of India."

The clause also defines the State's territory as comprising all the territories which on Aug. 15, 1947 were under the suzerainty of the ruler of the state" one-third of the territory of Kashmir is now under Pakistan control & the rest is under Bharati occupation

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Dawn - Karachi

Oct. 31, 1956.

'Draft Constitution'

Respect For Views of Opposition  
urged

Abdullah's letters to Nehru & Sardar

Rawalpindi Oct 30. The following are the texts of two letters from Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah, deposed P. M. of Bharati occupied Kashmir, to Pt. J. L. Nehru & Mr. G. M. Sadiq, President, Srinagar C. A. sent recently.



The letter were written from Land Sub Jail.

Letter of Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah to  
Pt. Nehru : —

" My dear Pandit Jee .

" I am here with enclosing a copy of  
my letter to the address of the President  
of Kashmir C. A. I solicit its perusal  
& early consideration of its contents which  
will reveal to you the necessity & occasion  
of my taking this step.

" Soon after my arrest in August,  
1953 I approached you to facilitate  
my presence in the Assembly when the  
motion of no-confidence against me  
was being discussed. Had my request  
been conceded then, I feel sure that  
not only the basic principles of  
democracy would have been  
vindicated, but much mischief also  
would have been nipped. Good  
deal of damage done to the political  
cause may as well have been avoided.  
Unfortunately that was not to be.

" The present is yet another occasion  
when I feel your interference is



called for. Having had the privilege of ~~was~~ knowing you intimately and the ideals you espouse, I still do hope that your timely action may arrest further deterioration of the situation.

### opposite viewpoint

"Mr. Krishna Menon recently addressed a public association in Delhi exhorting his audience to respect the opposite point of view, however inconvenient. He is reported to have said 'the day we become intolerant of that view, that will be the beginning of our downfall.'"

"Dr. Radhakrishnan has further elaborated this sovereign principle of human right in ~~to~~ his address recently to the Rumanian National Assembly in Bucharest. He is quoted to have said the dignity & sanctity of human beings is the basic principle of any kind of democratic constitution.

That is the vision which people should have when they talk about democratic Govt.

"It is essential in our view to allow full scope for the expression of minorities & opposition parties. We punish people for criminal, violent & subversive activities, but we do not punish them for their opinions.

"I am confident that both these high dignitaries & your closest



associate have only reflected your own views & sentiments. Shall we be hoping for too much if we seek ask for the strict application of these views to the unhappy people of Kashmir?

### Letter To Sadig.

" Dear Sir,

From the scrappy press reports reaching here, I gather that you are contemplating to convene shortly a session of the C. A. with a view to finalising the Constitution for the J & K State. Obviously this is going to be the most important juncture in the history of our state. I, therefore, owe it to be the suppressed millions of the country, as well as to the mighty mass movement led for a century, to warn you of the grave consequences likely to follow your contemplated action. 2nd

I Hoping against hope, that you may still pause for second thoughts, however belated, and refrain further from the course of action that has paralysed public opinion and done disastrous damage to the growth of democracy, I restate these facts here & ask if the present circumstances



and the prevailing climate can warrant  
and guarantee a Constitution in accordance  
with the aspirations of the people.

<sup>Arrest  
of Sheikh</sup> with the Coup of 9th August 1953, the  
first act of the murder of democracy  
was committed when I was unconstitutionally  
& illegally removed from premiership  
& simultaneously arrested & detained.  
This arbitrary removal from office of  
the Leader of the House without formal vote  
of no-confidence is without a parallel  
in democracy & spontaneous mass  
protests from every nook & corner of  
Jammu have registered an unequivocal  
condemnation against it.

### Widespread Repression

<sup>Prof.</sup> The govt., pitched forced into office in  
consequence of the coup, therefore, does not  
and cannot enjoy even the semblance of public  
confidence. Beyond doubt it would have  
tothered and collapsed soon after its  
inception, but for the wanton and widespread  
repression let loose by the army, Indian  
Reserve police and gangster of Peace  
Brigade, which sustain the present  
regime in office.



"what followed 9th August is not known to you unless you find it convenient to forget. It is history now that promiscuous shootings took a heavy toll of peaceful men, women & children throughout the country. Thousands of people were arrested & tortured in order to break them into submission. The victims included high govt. officials, respectable citizens, lawyers of high status, members of the Assembly & many freedom fighters of our movement.

Where these third degree methods could not coerce them, the victims with bruised and broken limbs were whisked off to various prisons in the State - the number of those detained under house arrest at Minister's - residence in the so-called hotels & other private buildings, is a legion & their tales of torture are equally heart-rending. This blood curdling drama went on for long, unabashed and unabated. Kashmir was made a veritable hell & an iron curtain was thrown over the valley, suppressing all facts from the outside world.

✓ In these circumstances you ||



5  
Convened a session of the Assembly in order to seek a vote of Confidence for the new Govt, headed by Bal喀什 Ghulam Mohd, who was the chief actor in the bloody drama of August 1953, with you as the main Collaborator.

3  
" As soon this information reached me in prison I lost no time in urging upon you the necessity of my presence in the House when the motion of no-confidence in Bal喀什 Ghulam Mohd. — was to be discussed. I need hardly discuss the propriety & fairness of my request.

### Violence To Democracy.

" As leader of the House as well as the P. M., it was my unquestionable right to face the motion. All principles & precedents of democracy support this sacrosanct privilege. But obviously as you yourself were involved in the conspiracy your own position was most untenable & precarious. You, therefore, found the only way to save ~~an~~ your skin in refusing my request & thereby further committed grave violence to the principles of democracy.



" you should be aware of the fact that every member of the House has a right to be present in the House when any business is transacted. It is not the question of any numerical strength of his view that counts, but his basic right to command support in the House that matters essentially. By refusing permission to other MLAs jailed in 1953 along with me, you usurped this right also.

" Thus you added & abetted in trying to hoodwink the world that the present regime enjoyed the confidence of the House.

But everyone is fully conscious of the fact that a vote of the House obtained under such circumstances has not only no normal or legal value, but is a positive fraud of Democracy.

Agreed of  
statement

" of late, a good deal of evidence has come to light which establishes beyond doubt that the 9th August Coup was a result of a deep conspiracy.

by with Communal & reactionary elements & other vested interests, with whom the Akashhi clique



joined hands, in order to sabotage the great movement of which I have been the spear head since 1931.

(To be continued).

Indian Nation

Patna

28/10/56.

vol. 3, 4, 5.

Kashmir National Conference And its Policy.

Balakshi's Report to State C. A.

Srinagar. Oct. 28.

Kashmir's accession to India, the setting up of a C. A and its attitude a plebiscite stemmed from the policy pursued by the National Conference over the problems facing the state, according to a statement placed yesterday on the table of the C. A by the leader of the House, Balakshi Girdharan Mohommad.

The statement recalled the attack by Pakistan on Kashmir in Oct. 1947 & the then ruler's request to India for immediate military assistance. He (The Ruler) was supported in this request by the leaders of the National Conference the largest political



party of the state. This decision was ~~in~~ influenced not only by consideration of immediate security but also by the deep ideological & political ties which the people of the state had with those of India the statement said.

The statement said that the leaders of N-Conference time & again reiterated their faith in the continued accession of the state with India. As early as Oct. 1948 a special Convention of the National Conference had pledged full support to final accession to India on the basis of new Kashmir.

#### U.N. Council

The statement referred to the reference of the issue to the Security Council & said that the N-Conference took a grave view of the delaying tactics of the Security Council in finding a just & equitable solution of the problem in accordance with the wishes of the people of the state.

It quoted Sheikh Abdullah as saying at the 19th session of the National Conference that S. Council proceeded to recognise the claims of the aggressor & per mitted him to enjoy the fruits



of his aggression. Under these circumstances a free & impartial plebiscite would have become not only a mockery but would have further imperilled the security of the State.

The statement said that the idea of convening C. A. which had been envisaged earlier both in the Indian Constitution as well as in the proclamation of the ruler on March 5, 1948 whereby power was transferred to the representatives of the people was seriously mooted & the then P. M. of Kashmir gave a broad indication of this course of an interview with the Correspondent of the American Magazine "Look".

Recalling the circumstances which led to the setting up of C. A. the statement said that since the Security Council had failed to evolve a satisfactory solution of the Kashmir problem for four long years creating conditions of drift & uncertainty the govt. & the people of the State felt impelled to reconvene the initiative for the purpose of establishing a democratic forum which would ascertain the wishes of the people on all the issues relating to their future.



The statement said that from the manner in which the Kashmir issue was being handled by the Security Council it was becoming increasingly clear at the initial plea which had occasioned a reference to the Council was being totally ignored & consequently there was a tendency on the part of some members to cloud the basic issue.

### Self-determination

While the principle of self-determination to the people of the State was being apparently conceded - the manner & method of the exercise of this right were such as would have surely added to conflict & confusion & resulted in more upheaval in this part of Asia.

The N. Conference as the representative political organisation of the people of the State took timely notice of all these dangerous tendencies which threatened the sovereignty & integrity of the State.

The concession yielded by the S.C. to the aggressor made it evident that justice & fair play would hardly be expected from the interested members of the Council who wanted



to intervene actively in the state & foist a decision on the people of the state. In view of this grave threat the National Conference rejected the proposals that were mooted in the S. C. by some of its interested members.

In a statement to the press the then president of the National Conference (Sheikh Abdullah) said

"no plebiscite is possible without the sovereignty of the legally constituted govt. of Jammu & Kashmir being effectively extended over the entire ~~territories~~ territories of the state, disbandment of the so-called Azad Kashmir Govt., and its forces and withdrawal of Pakistan troops and nationals

The statement said "in another statement made earlier, Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah declared". But there can be no plebiscite in Kashmir unless and until the Pakistan and so called Azad Kashmir forces are withdrawn from state territory. Refugees are rehabilitated and the sovereignty of the legal head of the state over the entire territory of J & K state is recognised

### Two factors

" In a statement to the press in Srinagar, he declared I have often said in the past. & I repeat that the irreducible minimum conditions for the settlement of the dispute are firstly, restoration of the territory of the state to the lawful govt., & the consequent liquidation of Azad Kashmir Govt., its forces & secondly, rehabilitation of refugees



The statement said - that in the background of repeated failures of the S.C. to evolve a peaceful & Democratic solution of the

Kashmir issue, the National Conference felt that the time had arrived for the state govt to take immediate steps to arrest a growing sense of suspense & uncertainty in the state.

### 1950 Mandate

Accordingly, the General Council of the National Conference in Oct-1950 issued a mandate to the party for the convocation of the C.A. for the purpose of taking decisions on all vital issues concerning the future shape & affiliations of the state.

The decision of the N. Conference to convene a C.A. for the state was welcomed by Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah & Mr. M. A. Begg, the statement said.

The statement quoted Sheikh Abdullah in a speech at a reception at Calcutta as saying "it is fairly well known to every body now how Pakistan has felt about our problem. But so far people of Kashmir are concerned they feel that they have wanted



for long and it is very difficult  
part to live in uncertainty ~~on the~~ any longer.  
With this in view the people of Kashmir  
have elected a properly C. A. to take  
decision in vital matters."

The state quoted Mr. M. A Beg (now leader  
of the plebiscite Front) as saying at a  
Martyr's day meeting held at Bijnihara  
(Kashmir): "we are determined to setup  
a C. A. with a view to removing the  
grim suspense & the uncertainty  
through which we have been passing  
after attaining freedom three & a half  
years ago."

Addressing a public meeting later in  
Anantnag, Mr. Beg had said the establish-  
ment of the C. A. means to lay the foundation  
of complete freedom. The future historian  
will present this event in letters of gold.

Every adult man & woman will have  
the right to vote so that they can  
exercise their free will & thus participate  
in the building of the Country."

### Anglo-U.S. Draft:

The state ment, referred to the Anglo-U.S.  
draft resolution in the Security Council  
seeking to affirm that any action of  
that the C. A. might take to determine



the future of the state would not constitute  
disposition of the state & the consequent  
~~disposition~~ criticism

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C-4

C. A. — 1955.

Statesman

16-2-55.

C. A. member Resign.

Jammu Feb 15

Mr. Ram Lal Chahal, a member of the  
Kashmir C. A. today resigned from the N. Conf-  
— ference.

In a statement he said that people's  
expectations from the Bakshi Govt, had been  
completely ~~based~~. x

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Hindus — Master

17 Feb 16, 1955

Kashmir M. L. A. Resigns  
From party

Jammu Feb. 15. Master Ramprakash Chahal,



one of the four Harijan members of the J. & K. C. A., representing Kahna Chak constituency has resigned from the N. Conference Parliamentary Party & also from the N. Conference.

He told pressmen that he had resigned

because the hopes that I had pinned with the ruling party were blighted one after another.

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C-4 - 1954.

*Sikhs  
Rights  
Parties* Statesmen. — 23-1-54.  
Demonstration by Alkalis proposed.

Jammu. Jan. 21- The J & K Alkali Dal has decided to observe 'Sikh Rights protection Day' and ~~organisation~~ organize demonstration in Jammu city on Feb. 3 when the state C. A. is due to meet.

In a resolution, the Alkali Dal working Committee has called upon the state govt. to aid organisations which wanted to construct memorials for the martyrs who died fighting the Tribal raiders in 1947.

Hind Times 25-1-54.

Union jurisdiction in Kashmir

Drafting Body May Be Asked to make Proposals.

Jammu Jan. 24. During the forth coming sessions of the Kashmir C. A. a directive is likely to be issued to the Drafting Committee to bring forward the necessary proposals.



for clearly defining the sphere of Union  
Jurisdiction in J & K State.

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It is learnt that when the 53 member joint  
Committee of the Basic Principles and F.R.s  
Committee meets on Monday there will be a  
detailed discussion in order to finalise the  
recommendations of the two Committees before  
Feb. 3, when the C.A. meets.

Discussions among members for the  
past several weeks provide a definite outline  
as to the shape of the State's Constitution.

The Consensus of opinion is in favour  
of Kashmir continuing to be an 'autonomous  
State within the Indian Union.'

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H.T 3-2-54.

Kashmir Consensus Meets today.  
Reports Based on Delhi Talk to be  
presented.

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It is understood that the reports which  
have been prepared in the light of the  
recent Delhi talk between the representatives  
of the Kashmir Govt, and the Govt of  
India, were unanimously approved by the  
53 members who comprise the two committees  
(B.P. Committee & F.R. Committee).

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Statesman

4-2-54.

CONTINUANCE OF ACCESSION WITH  
INDIA FAVOURED

Reports on Kashmir Constitution.

Jammu Feb-3 while retaining its autonomous  
character the state of Jammu & Kashmir  
will continue to remain acceded with



Union of India and will comprise such territories as formed part of the State on August 15, 1947," declared Kashmir's Revenue Minister, Mr. Qasim, who today presented the report of the Basic principles Committee & the Advisory Committee on F.Rs and citizenship, to the C. A. which began its momentous session to bring about the finalization of Indo-Kashmir relationship in "clear & precise terms".

Mr. Qasim made a vigorous appeal to members to approve the Committee recommendations. The House adjourned till tomorrow in order to give time to the members to study the reports.

On the ruling of Mr. Sadig, president of the Assembly that the dissenting note of Mr. Abdul Grani, a member of the Basic principles Committee and formerly parliament-ary secretary in the Abdullah Govt., should also form part of the relevant report, Mr. Qasim read Mr. Grani's note suggesting that the State should retain the right of cession from the Indian



Union, that a state's Board of judicial  
Advisers & not the Supreme Court of India  
should be the highest court of the state  
and that the right of recall of Assembly  
members should be incorporated in the  
State Constitution.

Mr. Sadiq, however, rejected Mr  
Ghani's contention that the House be  
adjourned for three days to enable the  
members to study the report carefully.

Tribune 5-2-1954.

Accession to India after full thought  
Discussion on Two Reports initiated  
In Assembly.

Jammu, Feb. 4.

It was in exercise of our right of  
self determination that to-day, not due to  
any pressure but after full consideration  
of pros & cons, we are deciding to  
accede to India. But at the same



time we retain our residuary powers. This decision was a slap both on the face of those who wanted independent Kashmir & those who wanted merger of the state with India", declared Shri Krishan Dev. Sethi in the Kashmir. A. today when discussion on the reports of the B. P. Committee & the F. R. & Citizenship Committee was initiated.

A prominent feature of today's discussion was unanimous support to the accession of state to India. One member, Mr. Abdul Goni however demanded that state should retain the right of succession. He said, it was necessary so that those who were at present in Azad Kashmir, were also provided with an opportunity to exercise their opinion on this important issue.

Mr. Goni said that while Kashmir was advancing its hand of friendship, India was not accepting it. Mr.

Krishan Dev Sethi maintained that Mr. Goni's arguments meant clearly an independent Kashmir.



into action.

There was no actual despatch of troops until after the accession, although we have been receiving S.O.S. messages for two or three days before; even as the Indian army was just too late to prevent the terrible outrage by the raiders on 26th Oct. upon Joseph's Convent and the attached hospital in Bara mulla.

And about Sheikh Abdullah being a tool in the conspiracy, I give a few more facts. Sheikh Abdullah was released from prison on 29th Sept. 1947. The distinguished representative of Pakistan has said that Sheikh Abdullah wrote from prison a letter praying to me Maharaja that he should declare his accession to India forthwith. The letter is said to have been written to a friend. That friend apparently communicated it to Prem Nath Bazaz, who is said to have disclosed the fact in a book on Kashmir. Instead of this double hearsay let us have a more direct evidence. On 10th Oct. 1947 there appeared in the Statesman, a British conducted paper on account of the reception given in New Delhi to Sheikh Abdullah about a week after his release. I shall read an account of the proceedings or themselves. New Delhi Tuesday, September 23rd 1947.



Nationalist leader, pleaded for time to consider which Dominion the State should join.

"In the meantime," he said, "our friends could help us to attain freedom from autocracy."

I shall now turn to the matter which appears to have caused some concern to certain members of the Council. viz. the proposal to convene a C.A. for ~~Kashmir~~ Kashmir. As I have already said, Kashmir, is, at present, a unit of the Indian Federation and has to be governed accordingly. When we were drafting the ~~Constitution~~ Constitution for India we had to consider that provision should be made for the Constitutions of the various units of the Indian Federation. It was decided that ~~the framing of the~~ <sup>the framing of the</sup> Constitution should be entrusted to a C.A. for the unit concerned. Accordingly several units have convoked constituent Assemblies for the purpose. e.g. Saurashtra, Travancore, Cochin and Mysore. Others have lagged behind for ~~an~~ one reason or another. Kashmir is one of the units where the C.A. has not yet been convoked so that the Constitution of the State is still to be made. Honourable members will please note that the machinery of the C.A. was not devised only for Kashmir, but for other similar



units of Indian federation as well. Indeed it is recognised as the machinery for the framing of the Constitution in most parts of the world. Accordingly provision was made in the Indian Constitution, for a C.A. for settling the details of the Kashmir Constitution will that Assembly decide the question ~~may~~ <sup>may</sup> of accession? ~~Why not?~~ <sup>My point of view</sup> is that while the Constituent Assembly may, if it so desires, express an opinion on this question, it can take no decision on it.

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12/3/51

Hindustan Times Delhi.

12/4/51 Page I Col. I

U. N. Can watch Kashmir elections

Addressing the Delhi State Political Conference on ~~Sunday~~ Sunday, Maulana Mohammed Sayeed, General Secretary, Jammu & Kashmir N.C. said elections to the proposed C.A. for Kashmir would be free & fair and all political elements would have the right to propagate their views & contest the elections.

"We have nothing to hide. The U.N. can send its observers to see for themselves how the elections are conducted."



if they find anything wrong there is nothing  
to prevent them from telling it to the world  
at large." he added.

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J&Kashmir Govt, Gazette  
Extraordinary 1st May 1951

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Amrita Bazar Patrika  
Calcutta

14/5/51 Page 6 Col 4

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Stage set for Consensus

Election in August

Secret Agents send Secret Reports to  
Pak.

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Srinagar May 9.

Despite Chauvinist utterances  
across the "cease-fire" line, the State has  
be set for Convoking a c. A in J&K.

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30. 5. 54 Page. 4 col 7.

### Convening of Assembly.

#### Electoral Rolls Rules published in Kashmir

Jammu May 29. The State Govt. has in a Gazette Extraordinary announced the rules governing the preparation of the electoral rolls for the proposed C.A. The rules will be enforced at once. These rules have been framed in pursuance of the proclamation of Yuvraj Karam Singh issued on April 30 last for convening a C.A. for framing a Constitution for the people of Jammu & Kashmir State.

The rules deal with the appointment of machinery for the preparation of the electoral rolls for the elections to the C.A. They envisage the appointment of an Election Commissioner who will directly supervise and control the elections & the preparation, revision & printing of the electoral rolls. Special Tehsildars appointed in various tehsils to carry out the land to the tiller policy of the Govt. & residents of Jammu, Srinagar & Poonch have been appointed Electoral Registrars within their respective



jurisdiction.

According to the rules every State subject, who is not declared of unsound mind by any Competent Court and not disqualified from voting under provisions of any laws relating to malpractice & other offences in connection with election after the ~~provisional~~ promulgation of these rules, will be eligible to be registered in the electoral rolls of any electoral area if he was 21 years of age on March 1, 1951, and had been ordinarily resident of the electoral area not for not less than one week during two years preceding Baisakh 1, 2008 Bikrami.

According to the rules, one can register himself in any number of Constituencies but he shall vote in only one of them. objections to the electoral rolls can be filed within three weeks after their publications.

State & man

Calcutta

31/5/51

page 5

Col. 1, 2, 3

U. N. Cable on Kashmir to India & Pakistan

"Apprehension" over proposed C. A.

Flushing MRA done May 29.



The S.C. today empowered its president to write to India & Pakistan drawing their attention to the "apprehensions of Council members regarding the proposed holding of a Kashmir. C.A.

The Communication would also express the hope that the two Govts would do everything in their power to prevent the Kashmir authorities from doing anything to prejudice the U.N. & the future of the State.

By vote of nine in favour and two abstentions (Russia & India) the Council approved the wording of a cable to be sent by the president of the Council to India & Pakistan.

This action was suggested by the British delegate, Sir Geraldwyn Jebb, in a debate on the Kashmir question.

The Cable says in part that the S.C. has heard with satisfaction the assurances of the representative of India that any Constituent Assembly that might be established was not intended to prejudice the issues before the Council.

On the other hand, the Pakistani representative had communicated to the President of the Council a report which, if correct, indicates that steps are being taken by the Yuvaraj of J&K to convene a C.A., one function of which, according to Sheikh Abdullah, would be to decide the future shape & affiliation of Kashmir.



The cable continues: "It is the sense of the S.C. that these reports, if correct, would involve procedures which are in conflict with the commitments of the parties to determine the future accession of the state by a fair and impartial plebiscite conducted under U.N. auspices."

The cable recalls the request in the March 30 resolution that the parties create and maintain an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations & peaceful settlement."

The cable says: The Council trusts that the govt. of India & Pakistan will do everything in their power to ensure that the authorities in Kashmir do not disregard the Council or act in a manner which would prejudice the determination of the future accession of the state in accordance with the proceeding proposed provided for in the resolution of Council & the U.N. Commission for India & Pakistan."

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Tribune

Ambala Cantt

1/6/51

page 4

Colm. 142.



## Constituent Assembly For Kashmir

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The S.C. has empowered its President to write to India & Pakistan drawing their attention to the apprehensions of the Council members regarding the proposed holding of the Kashmir C. A. and expressing the hope that the two Govts. will do everything in their power to prevent the Kashmir authorities from taking any step likely to prejudice the future of the State. It is difficult to understand why the S.C. should have considered it necessary to send a cable to India on the subject of the Kashmir C. A. Mr. B.N. Rau has made the position of this Country on this question unmistakably clear — a position which it serves Pakistan's purpose to misrepresent. Kashmir is, constitutionally speaking, a unit of the Indian federation but, under the Instrument of Accession executed by the ruler the State has joined the Union for a few specific objects. Art 370 of the Constitution clearly lays down that the powers of Parliament to make laws for the State of J & K shall be limited to those matters in the Union List and the Concurrent List which, in consultation with the Govt. of the State, are declared by the President in the Instrument of Accession and such other matters as with the concurrence



of the govt<sup>y</sup> of the State the president may by order specify. on what authority and under which law can the

Govt<sup>y</sup> of India ask the State govt<sup>y</sup> to abandon its plan to summon a C. A for the State? Prof BOKHARI, Pakistan's representatives at the U. N.

calls India's inability to intervene in the internal affairs of the State a legal subterfuge. That only shows

his ignorance of Indian Constitutional law. But while we can understand why Pakistan should misrepresent and distort the views of the Govt<sup>y</sup> of India on this issue

we are amazed that the ~~U. A.~~ United States representative Mr. Ernest Gross,

should have misunderstood India's stand and talked of India's "permitting" the Convening of the Assembly, as if India can compel the State govt<sup>y</sup> to give up its plan of summoning it. As a citizen of

a federal state Mr. Gross should not find it difficult to understand the limited nature of central powers in a federal system.

The S. C has to go, on the question



of the political future of the State, not by what the state govt. says but by what the govt. of India say. It is the govt. of India who are committed to the holding of a fair and impartial plebiscite to determine the accession issue. It is they who are a party to the Indo-Kashmir dispute over Kashmir. Have they ever said that they would accept as final the verdict of the Kashmir C. A on the question of accession? Prof. Bokhari asserts that the various declarations made from time to time by Indian spokesmen as regards the purpose of the proposed C. A are at the best contradictory & evasive. Has not Mr. B.N. Rau made an unambiguous and absolutely categorical statement that the Convening of the C. A is not intended to prejudice the issue before the S.C & that the opinions of the C. A on the accession question will not be binding upon the Indian Govt.? where is then the justification in the face of these facts this unequivocal stand by India, for any apprehensions regarding the summoning of the C. A? The Govt. of India cannot compel the Assembly not to express any opinion on the accession issue. They can only undertake that they will not treat it as the final word on the question. This they have done in a manner which leaves absolutely no room for doubt.



The S. C. has wholly misunderstood the primary purpose for which the Assembly is being convened. Kashmir, like all other States formerly Indian states, has hitherto been governed in an autocratic way, with the people having little share in the power of the State. Under the new Constitution all states except Kashmir have been given a democratic form of govt, with fundamental rights, legislatures elected on the basis of universal suffrage and cabinets responsible to them. Kashmir is governed to-day by a ministry which enjoys the implicit confidence of the people. But Kashmir has not yet framed its own Constitution. Must the State remain without popularly elected legislature merely because India & Pakistan can not agree on the conditions preliminary to the holding of a plebiscite? How long must the State of uncertainty continue in Kashmir? Members of the S. C. would have been justified in their apprehensions if the govt, of India had decided to accept as final the verdict of the Assembly on accession. Their apprehensions are wholly unwarranted and their cable to India & Pakistan has no significance. — Ce. Pakistan has every reason to be perturbed over the forthcoming elections in Kashmir. They will show to the world the degree of confidence which



the people of the state repose in their great leader. Sh. Abdullah, who has led them to freedom & given them a new hope. Why the S.C. should be perturbed it is difficult to comprehend.

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Hindustan Times Delhi.  
3/6/51 page 8 Col. I.

U. N. Cable on Kashmir C. A.

India Acknowledges Receipt.

New York June 2. India has sent to Mr. Sha Salim Saif, president of the S.C., an acknowledgement of the Cable he had addressed to New Delhi and Baramulla on the subject of Kashmir.

Mr. Nehru informed Mr. Saif India's position regarding the Kashmir C.A. had been repeatedly explained to the S.C.

The P.M.'s Communication added: "I have nothing to add to what has already been stated on our behalf by our accredited spokesman. On receipt of all records of the discussions on this matter which you have promised, I shall, if necessary, send further communications"



## Text of Correspondence

The following is the text of letter of the President of the S. C. to the Govt. of India & Pakistan, date May 29.

" I have the honour to call your attention to the important principles regarding India-Pakistan question restated in the S. C. resolution of March 30, 1951.

" Members of the S. C. at this 548th meeting of May 29, 1951 heard with satisfaction the assurance of the representative of India that any C. A. that may be established in Srinagar is not intended to prejudice the issue before the S. C. or to come in its way."

" On the other hand, the two Communications to me as President of the Council from the representative of Pakistan (Documents S/2119 and S/2145) contain reports which if they are correct indicate that steps are

being taken by the Yuvaraja of J&K to convene a C. A. one function of which according to Sheikh Abdulullah, would be a decision on the future shape & affiliation of Kashmir.

" It is the sense of the S. C. that



these reports if correct would involve procedures which are in conflict with the commitments of the parties to determination the future & accession of the state by a fair & impartial plebiscite conducted under the U. N. auspices.

" As president of the S. C. I have attempted to summarize the general line of the S. C.'s discussion on this matter, a full record of which is being forwarded by air mail. "

### Mr. Nehru's Reply

The following is the text of reply from the P. M. of India to the president of the S. C. 27 May 31, 1951

" I have received your Excellency's message, 27 24th May. India's position regarding Kashmir C. A. has been repeatedly explained to S. C. & was reaffirmed in course of discussions on

May 29th on communication addressed to president of Council by Representatives of Pakistan (Document S/2119 & S/2145).

" I have nothing to add to what has already been stated on our behalf by our accredited spokesman



Tribune

Amballa cantt

27 4/6/51

Kashmir Consenbly Electoral

Rolls — have been published. The  
approximate number of voters is 16 lakhs,  
objections are to be filed between June  
4 and 25.

✓ — Bhabhart Bombay 5/6/51

Kashmir Manifesto

Srinagar 4. A resolution, authorising the working  
Committee of the Conference to issue an  
election manifesto for guidance of N.C.  
candidates in connection with forthcoming  
election to the Consenbly, was passed  
unanimously tonight in 2<sup>nd</sup> or after session  
of I.C. N.C.

Hinche

Madars.

7/6/51

page 6. Col I.

Kashmir Consenbly  
Election Dates Announced

Srinagar June 5 — The Kashmir Govt.,  
has announced the dates for the holding



of elections to the proposed State C. A.

Elections in all the three provinces of the State — Kashmir, Jammu & Ladakh & Largil — will, according to the announcement, be held in Sept this year.

The Schedule of elections is: —

Kashmir Province — Sept. 21;

Jammu Province — Sept. 30

& Ladakh — Largil — Sept. 10.

Nomination papers will be filed in all the areas on August 20 and the names of all the qualified candidates will be published on August 25.

— X —  
Tribune

Amballa Cantt.

10/6/51

page 3

Col. 6+7.

Picture of Shape of Things to come in Kashmir emerges clear

Consensus Move becomes Reality

Srinagar Times — A clearer picture of the shape of things to come in Kashmir has emerged as a result of the 5-days annual session of the J & K A. C. which concluded here on ~~the~~ Tuesday last, showed observers.



Tribune

Amballa Cantt.

30/6/51

Page 7

Colm N. 6.

Elections to Kashmir Consensus

National Conference to contest All seats.

Srinagar June 29 - The J & K. N. C. has decided to contest all the seats to the proposed C. A in the State.

Hindustan Times

Delhi

30/7/51

Page 5

Col: 8.

Letters to the Editor.

Sir, The Kashmir Govt. has accepted the right of all adult Kashmiri refugees residing in India to be voters for the forthcoming election, to the C. A. for the State and a Special revising authority has been deputed to consider their claims in this respect. These refugees numbering about 116,000 have a right to be represented in the Assembly on a population basis. The State Govt. has decided to take one member for every 40,000 of the population, and working on this analogy these refugees can send no less than three representatives. I would, I request the Election Committee to instruct the Delimitation Committee to set apart three seats for these refugees in the Nagrota Camp, and to see that proper arrangements



are made to enable them to send their votes  
by post if necessary.

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Kaviraj Vishnu Gupta  
president  
J & K Pursharthi Sabha.

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Hindustan Times      Delhi.  
7/8/51      page 4      col. 6.

Convention of Kashmiri Sikhs.  
Srinagar Aug. 6: — A convention of Sikh  
parties in J & K State was held here  
yesterday under the auspices of the Kashmir  
Smriti Sabha.

It was unanimously decided to form  
a central body of all state Sikhs to be known  
as Shromani Khalsa Darbar, J & K. ~~It~~

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The Convention supported Mr. Nehru's  
policy towards Pakistan. A demand was  
also made that state Sikhs should be given  
more seats in the C. A. than in the old  
State Legislature. "

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Hindustan Times Delhi.

18/8/51 page 1 Col. 4.

## Kashmir Candidates for C. A.

Srinagar Aug. 17—The N.C. Candidates from the Kashmir province to contest the forthcoming election to the C. A. will be selected at a meeting here on August 19 of the Conference election board, it is learnt.

Balkashi Ghulam Mohammad Dy. P. M. who is expected here tomorrow from Jammu, will preside over the meeting.

So far about 350 persons, including a woman, have bought Conference tickets for the election.

Hindustan Times Delhi

19/8/51 page 8 col 4.

Decision To Convene C. A. Reaffirmed.

## C. A. election Rules

Jammu Aug. 17 — Rules for the election to J & K State C. A. have been published by the govt.

According to the rules, one can contest election only if he is a first class state subject is a registered voter in the province in which he wishes to contest a seat, is a registered voter, literate and has



attained the age of 25 on or before August 1, 1951.  
A person will be disqualified to contest any seat for C.A. if he holds the office of profit in J & K. Govt in the Govt of India or any local body in "the state govt" or is a whole time employee of a municipality or a local body in the state. But this will apply to the Ministers of J & K Govt or pensioners of J & K. Govt or Govt of India or whole time employee of a Co-operative Society. A person will also be disqualified if he has been convicted for an offence punishable with imprisonment for not less than two years or if having held office under the govt of India or any state govt in India or J & K Govt, has been become dismissed for corruption unless in both cases a period of three years or such less period as allowed by the election Commissioner has elapsed since his release or dismissal respectively, if he is of unsound mind as declared by a Competent Court or if he is not discharged as an insolvent or being a discharged solvent has not obtained from a Competent Court a certificate that his insolvency was caused by misfortune without any misconduct on his part.

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Hindustan Times

Delhi

20/8/51 Page 4 Col. 3

## Nomination papers For Kashmir C. A.

Srinagar August 19 — Pt Hira ~~am~~ Hiranand Raina, Election Commissioner, has, under the J & K. C. A. Election Rules, fixed August 30 as the date for ~~fixed~~ <sup>filing</sup> nomination papers for 43 Constituencies in Kashmir province. The scrutiny of nomination papers will be completed and decision announced by Sept 1. The candidates who may like to withdraw their names may do so by Sept. 3.

For the two Constituencies of the Joraher district Ladakh, the date for ~~for~~ <sup>filing</sup> nomination papers is August 27, scrutiny of papers on August 29 and withdrawal of names by August 31.

X  
Hindustan Standard

Calcutta

24/8/51

Page I

Col. 617.

Convening Kashmir Congress

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's India Govt's  
Views.



New Delhi Aug. 23 — P. M. Nehru reiterated in parliament today that the convening of the C. A. ~~by~~ in Kashmir was in complete accord with the Govt. of India's views on the subject.

Sri Nehru added that it was also in accordance with the provision of the Constitution of India.

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Times of India Bombay

25/8/51

page 7 col. 5.

Election to Assembly.

Kashmir Candidates

Srinagar. August 24 — Sheikh Abdullah today announced the names of 43 persons who have been adopted as N. C. Candidates for the elections to the C. A. from all the 45 Constituencies of Kashmir & Ladakh.

Prominent among those are Sheikh Abdullah, Bakshi Gulam Mohammad, Mirza Afz, Afz, Afzal Beg, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq, Mr. Shaukat Saraf, the Head Lama Kanchak Bakulay Ladakh,



Maulana Sayeed & Mr. D. P. Dhar.

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National Herald

Lucknow

3/9/51 page 1 col. 6.

Sweeping victory for N. C.

Kashmiri Muslims Reply to Pakistan

Srinagar Sept. 1 — In one of the most sweeping election victories ever, the N. C. has 43 out of 45 seats reserved for the Kashmir valley and Ladakh in the elections to the C. A.

According to present indications, a contest is expected only in two constituencies, one in Srinagar & the other in Baramulla Town.

Maulana Sayeed described the victory of the N. C. candidates as an unequivocal reply of Kashmiri Muslims to Pakistan.

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Sept I 1951

Manchester Guardian

### Kashmir Elections

Majority for Sheikh Abdullah.

New Delhi, August 31.

The premier of Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah, has already secured a majority in the e. A election which — in seats where there are contests — take place in the next two weeks. In the valley of Kashmir forty candidates, all members of Premier's N. C. party, have been returned unopposed,

For the remaining three seats in the valley there may have to be contest.

The remaining 31 seats in the Assembly are for Jammu, where nomination day is on Tuesday.

The Times  
London 6 sept. 1951

### Kashmir Elections

Unopposed victories for Sheikh Abdullah

Srinagar Sept. 5

By securing 43 seats unopposed out of 45, reserved for Ladakh and Kashmir valley, Sheikh Abdullah's party



has obtained an absolutely majority in  
Kashmir C. A

The Times  
London

1. Nov. 1951

### Assembly Meets

Srinagar:

The Kashmiri C. A. held its first meeting today in the Rajgarh Darbar Hall in the face of the S. C.'s non-approval but with the full support and approval of the Indian Govt.

The first day was devoted to preliminary - the election of ~~the~~ a temporary chairman, the reading of good will messages, signing the register, the setting up of a tribunal to hear election petitions, and the adoption of provisional rules of procedure. 75 members, two of whom are women, represent 1,600,000 voters of a population of 2,950,000 this side of the cease fire line. The only Buddhist member is Kaushab Bakula of Spitok; the chief Lama of Ladakh, who draws his spiritual authority from the Dalai Lama of Tibet. He attended the Assembly in his ceremonial robes.



The assembly hall has not been provided with amplifiers, and the difficulty of deciding on ~~the~~ a language for the proceedings has not yet been solved, because five languages — English, urdu, kashmiri, Dogri & Ladakhi — are used and many members do not speak or understand any language except their own.

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Pakistan Times  
Lahore

16/9/51 page 7 col I

Kashmir Assembly  
Speak with voice of India  
New York Papers Comment.

New York Nov. 15.

Nothing that the govt. of both India and Pakistan have accepted the principle of a plebiscite to allow the Kashmiris to decide for themselves. The Christian Science Monitor editorially says:

↘ A new element enters into the picture with the so-called C. A. which opened in Kashmir. This completely pro-Indian Assembly claims that it alone can settle the question of accession.



it ignores the fact that the very conditions under which it has been elected are the conditions that must be changed before any popular vote can be considered representative. The Assembly may act for Kashmir, but it speaks with the voice of India.

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C-15

part III

Research & Reference section  
Information Deptt.  
Srinagar.

A. G. C. C. Economic Review

January 15, 1957

Kashmir — The True Picture.

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Adoption of the new Constitution of J & K on Nov. 17, 1956, was a landmark in the history of the State. The new Constitution is based on the principles of democracy



An indissoluble link has been constitutionally established with the Indian Union.

Hindus Integration Times - New Delhi  
19 - 1 - 57.

Gradual integration of Kashmir with India.

only Formal Celebration left for Jan 26.

Kashmir Govt, sources said in Delhi on Friday. that Pakistan's representation to the S. C. that the Kashmir C. A. was suddenly changing the state's relationship with India on January 26 ignored facts.

Pakistan, these sources added, was "for getting some inconvenient facts" about the gradual integration of the State with India during the last few days years.

According to these sources, what was left to be done on January 26, was the "formal celebration" major steps, like the final determination of relationship with India, financial integration, removal of the custom barrier, extension of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court & the Comptroller and Auditor General, having



been accomplished already.

Narrating these in their chronological order, they recalled that "after having waited in vain for three years for the S.C. to clear the state of the invaders, the N.C. on

Oct. 27, 1950, that it was time to convene a C.A. for taking ~~con~~ decisions on a number of issues. Concerning the future shape and affiliation of the state. Parliament, with the help of some of the great powers, tried to prevent the convening of the Assembly but failed in its attempts.

On April 30, 1951, Yuvraj Karam Singh, as regent issued the proclamation for setting up a C.A. based on adult franchise for the purpose of framing a Constitution for the entire state.

#### First Sitting

In Sept, 1951, elections were held to the C.A., and on Oct. 31, 1951 the first sitting of the Assembly was held at Srinagar.

On June 12, 1952, the Assembly adopted the Basic Principles Committee's interim report abolishing dynastic rule in the state. With this the Maharaja's nominal rule ended.

On July 24, 1952 was announced what was known as the "Delhi Agreement."



This agreement, negotiated between the Kashmir Govt and the Govt of India, related to such issues as, legislative powers, citizenship, fundamental rights, Supreme Court, Emergency provisions and headship of the state. It was agreed that the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India should extend to Kashmir in respect of certain matters.

The Delhi Agreement was ratified by Indian parliament. The Kashmir C.A. ratified it on August 14, 1952.

On Feb. 6, 1954, the report of the Balke Principles Committee, Fundamental Rights Committee & Citizenship Committee, laying down the basis of the new Constitution, were adopted by the Assembly.

On Feb. 15, 1954 the Draft Committee's report ratifying the accession of the State with India was adopted unanimously.

### Customs Barrier

On April 1, 1954, the customs barrier between the State and the rest of India was abolished.

On May 14, 1954 a presidential order applying more provisions of the Indian Constitution to the State was issued. These included those relating to Supreme Court's



jurisdiction.

On April 6, 1955, Concurrence was accorded by the Assembly to the application of few more provisions of the Indian Constitution to the state. On Nov. 4, 1956, the C. A. provided, ~~the~~ by an amendment to the draft Constitution, for the appointment of H. Court judges, in the state, by the President.

On Nov. 12, 1956, the C. A. passed a resolution for financial integration of the state with India. Under this resolution, the jurisdiction of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India was extended to the state.

On Nov. 17, 1956 the Constitution was adopted and on Nov. 19 it was signed by 68 of the total 75 members of the C. A.

Some of the articles came into force immediately on the adoption of the Constitution. Among these was Art 3 which said categorically "the state of J & K is and shall be an integral part of the Union of India."

The remaining sections, which would come into force after 25/26 a mid night ceremony on January 25/26 related mostly to matters of the internal administration, like the structure of the



## Judiciary & The Executive.

The Dawn - ~~Kashmir~~ Karachi -

Of 21-1-1957.

Sialkot, Jan 20: The Bharati Grou<sup>th</sup> is now hesitating to put into effect its earlier decision of integrating Kashmir on Jan. 26 for the time being, saying a report received here today from occupied Kashmir.

The report added that the expected postponement of the integration would save the State. A Sany. H.

This, the report says, has followed large-scale demonstrations staged by the followers of the plebiscite Front, Kashmir political Conference, Kashmir Democratic Union and other popular political organisations in occupied Kashmir.

The Hindustan Times

23-1-1957.

Kashmiris to Break

No Interference.

Balacshi Denounces Pak. Tactics.

Srinagar, Jan. 22.

Balacshi Ghulam Mohamomed said there here today that Pakistan is attempting to stay



enforcement of the State's new Constitution on January 26, only revealed that Pakistan was "woefully ignorant of the developments in the State during the last decade."

Addressing a meeting of N.C. workers here, the Kashmir premier said Pakistan's plea that on January 26, India would

"annex" Kashmir was a "highly mischievous statement and ignored the plain fact that a country cannot 'annex' its own territory."

Balraj Sahai said accession of the State to India had taken place in 1947. Subsequently in 1952 the State's constitutional relationship with India had been defined in Delhi Agreement which had been ratified by both Parliament and the State Constituent Assembly.

The C. A. had ratified the State's accession to India in Feb, 1954 and a suitable provision to this effect was made in the Indian Constitution in presidential order issued in May the same year.



Hindustan Standard

24 - 1 - 1957

Kashmir well set on Road to Progress

Constitution - A Historic Landmark in State  
Annals

The adoption of the new Constitution by the J & K Constituent Assembly "marks the fruition of people's struggle for the exercise of their right of self determination" declares an official report of the progress made so far in J & K circulated in New Delhi by the Kashmir Information office in New Delhi. Describing the event as "a historic landmark in the political annals of the State, the report ~~also~~ says "The people are fast emerging from the malaise into which they had drifted formerly & are actively participating in the nation-building activities".

Deccan Herald Bangalore

24 Jan. 1957

(Morning Edition)

Elaborate Programme For Jan. 26.

Srinagar Jan 21. An elaborate programme has been chalked out to celebrate the introduction of the new Constitution in Jammu & Kashmir on January



26.

The highlights of the programme in Srinagar include flag hoisting and march past of militia and police at the Polo Grounds, public processions & meetings, illumination of the public buildings, bridges & headquarters of the National Conference, cultural shows & the public reception. A similar programme will be held in Jammu & at all district headquarters of J & K, including Ladkhale.

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The Palestine Times.

Df 25-1-1957.

Concern over India's Designs

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More organisation to observe 'Black Day'

various political parties, trading communities, and students organisations in Lahore have chalked out programme for Jan. 26, to express their deep resentment of India's design to integrate occupied Kashmir with East Punjab. The programme includes demonstrations, hartal & public meetings in Lahore.



The Lahore Republican party & the Awami League are holding a joint meeting at 3 p.m. outside Delhi Gate. Dr. Iqbal Sahib, chief Minister of West Pakistan will preside.

The All-parties Muhajir Conference has also organised a protest meet at 2 p.m. outside Mochi Gate. Ch. Ghulam Abbas will preside.

All J & I Muslim Conference has also organised Lahore, will take out a procession from Ghal Bagh at 10 a.m. After going along the Mall, the procession will stage a demonstration in front of the house of the Indian High Commissioner, Lahore. Earlier a public meeting will be held which will be addressed by the leaders of all political parties.

The students of Lahore schools and colleges will assemble at Ghal Bagh at 9 a.m. and go in a procession to the U.S. Consulate and Deputy High Commissioner's office. The students meeting has been called by the Inter-Collegiate Union & All-J & I Student Federation which met in Lahore on ~~Thurs~~ Thursday. Various trading bodies will observe 'hartal' on Saturday.

The Badami Bagh industrial and trading community, on Thursday ~~described~~ decided to observe 'hartal' on Saturday.



It further resolved to take out a procession from the Badami Bagh industrial area on ~~Sat~~ Saturday at 10 a.m. The procession which will comprise, employers and employees will march to the offices of the Deputy High Commissioner of India & the U.K. & the U.S. Consulate.

Anjuman Himayat, Islam, Lahore, has also decided to join the Black Days meeting and procession.

It may be mentioned that several political parties and organisations have already decided to observe Black Day on Saturday to express their condemnation of the Indian move to annex Kashmir. These organisations are the Jama'at Islami, Pakistan National Party, Jamiat-ul-Ulema of Pakistan, Traders Association, and Pakistan Muhajir Convention.



Tribune

Ambala

25-1-1957

Page I Col. 2.

## Greeting To Kashmir.

Jammu. Jan 24 — Three Union Ministers, Mr. G. B. Pant, Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur and Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain, have sent messages of greetings to the Kashmir Prime Minister, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, on the historic day of enforcing the State's new Constitution on January 26.

Mr. Pant, in his message says: "I am glad to learn that the C. A. of Jammu & Kashmir on 25th January for formal commencement of the new Constitution of the State that will be fully brought into force that day. On this happy occasion I send my ~~has~~ hearty congratulation to you & your colleagues in the C. A. & my fraternal greeting and good wishes to the people Kashmir."

Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur's message reads "India has chosen a democratic way of life and has already met with a fair measure of success in her efforts to raise the standard of life of her people. It is no wonder that the State of Kashmir, an integral part of India,



should have chosen - the same path."

In his message Mr. A.P. Prasad  
~~for~~ Jain, Union Minister for Food &  
Agriculture says: "on this day of destiny  
when Kashmir after fighting the forces of  
tyranny & aggression is going to give  
to give itself a Constitution based  
on freedom and social justice I send  
by heart felt greeting to the heroic  
people of Kashmir."

X

J & K. Govt  
Kashmir Bureau of Information New  
Delhi

Kashmir Constitution Celebration

Leader's Messages

New Delhi January 25  
1957.

Numerous messages conveying good  
- wishes & congratulations on the <sup>commemoration</sup> of the new Constitution of J & K have  
been received by the State Premier,  
Balarin Gihlan Mohammad,  
Among those who have sent the



messages are Union Ministers, leaders of various political parties, Muslim leaders & others prominent persons.

Following are extracts from some of more important messages received:-

Shri. G. B. Pant.

Sahib Moraji Deasi Desai

Shri G. L. Manda:

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri

Spri. C.C. Biswas:

Maulana H. F. Z. Rehman (M. P. General Secretary, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-Hind)

Shri Shah Mohd. Umar : (M.P.)

Shri. H. V. Kamath (M.P)

Syed Mazhar Imam (M.P)

Shri ~~14~~ ~~Ug~~ ~~M~~ Hussain - u.d. - Din - Farouqi  
(Secretary, Delhi Communist party)

SRI ABDUL SATTAAR, Hon. Secretary

all India Akhbar Khicham Khatg.



Shri Abdulla Faruqi, Secretary,  
Anjuman-e-Yadgari Shuhidan:

Maulana Ahmed Syed

Chairman, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind:

Mir Mush tag Ahmed (Chairman,  
Praja Socialist Party, Delhi:

NAGPUR TIMES

Nagpur

26 Jan. 1957.

(Dak. Edition)

Red Letter Day in His Wry of Kashmir  
By Shri. G. L. Dogra.

Today comes into effect the new Constitution of the J & K State. The adoption and enforcement of the Constitution is a landmark in the history of the State, marking the fulfilment of the people's struggle for the exercise of their right of self-determination.

The draft Constitution for J & K was presented to the State C. A. in Oct last year. But before the State entered this decisive phase on the path of democracy and progress some important events had taken place during the last

Minister of Law.



few years which have a special significance in the history of its constitutional development. The events occurred immediately before and after partition and to appreciate the significance of the task achieved by the C.A. it would be appropriate to throw some light on them.

Before lapse of paramountcy in August 1947, the C.A. constitutional set up of the state was on the same bureaucratic pattern as it was in other princely states or at the centre. The Executive Govt. of the time was appointed by the Ruler and held office during his pleasure. It was not responsible to the Legislature of the time known as "Praja Sabha".

The Sabha itself was the conglomeration of nominated members & contained vested interests and its powers to legislate were fettered by certain undemocratic restrictions like the Reserved Subjects, Prime Minister's veto etc. The last elections to this were held in January 1947 which were boycotted by the N.C. The Sabha held its last session in Sept-Oct, 1947 and never re-assembled.

### Cabinet Mission plan

In May, 1940 with the failure of the Indian National Congress & the Muslim League to reach agreement upon the fundamental issue of unity or division of India, the British Cabinet



presented what is known as the Cabinet Mission plan which dealt with the Indian States as well. It was laid down in the plan that the Rights of the State which flowed from the relationship with the Crown, would no longer exist and the Rights surrendered by the States to the paramount power would be re-vested to the States.

The plan clearly provided that the Paramountcy could neither be retained by the Crown nor could it be transferred to the new Govt. The void thus created with the lapse of Paramountcy was to be filled up by cooperation between the States and the new Govt. by means of negotiations.

Although the Cabinet Mission Plan did not function, the Statement of June 3, 1947, which ultimately brought about the partition of India, reaffirmed the British Govt's policy towards the Indian States which had been ~~unrolled~~ unfolded in the Plan.

The Indian States were advised as a consequence of the lapse of Paramountcy to accede to either of the succeeding Dominions before power was transferred to them, namely, 15th August, 1947. Theoretically, the States were to become completely free & independent after the lapse of



paramountcy and the choice for accession to either of the Dominions or to remain independent rested with them.

### Stand Still Agreement

It is on record that immediately preceding the setting up of the two Dominions, the State Govt. entered into a stand still Agreement with Pakistan and this was accepted without question by that Dominion. A similar agreement arrangement was suggested to India also but the Govt. of India insisted that it could not consider any agreement entered into by the Govt. or the State valid until it had the approval of the people's representatives.

While these negotiations were going on the state was suddenly invaded by from the side of Pakistan. When the raiders were fast approaching Srinagar, the representatives of the N. C. sought help from the Govt. of

India and in order to enable the latter Constitutionally to defend the territory of the State from aggression, put forth the proposal for the alliance of the State with the Union of India. This happened in the last week of October, 1947.



The state of Jammu & Kashmir thus remained independent from 15th August to 26th Oct. 1947 when it acceded to the Union of India by means of the Instrument of Accession, executed by the Maharaja with the support of his people and stated above. This instrument of Accession was accepted unconditionally by the Govt of India on the 27th Oct. 1947.

Those were the hectic days of emergency period of 1947. Both in Kashmir and in Jammu the people had to face severe trials and tribulations. All the supplies of the state and the lines of communication having been in great economic distress. The emergency administration then set up by the Ruler bravely faced the situation & with the generous aid and assistance of the Govt of India much of the state's economic problems were solved. An Interim Govt, was installed in office on 5th March 1948.

### Special Status

Some time thereafter the state was invited to participate in the deliberation of the Constituent Assembly of India which was then framing the Constitution for the whole of India. The state nominated four of its representatives in January 1949 who, with the conclusion of the labours of the Assembly, set their



## signatures on the Constitution of India.

After material discussions and negotiations between the representatives of the state & the govt. of India a special status for the J & K state was granted within the Union of India and Art. 370 of the Constitution was designed to meet that end. Article of the Constitution of India re-affirms the fact of the accession of the state to the union of India and it declares the state as an integral part of the Union.

while setting up the C. A for the state in Nov. 1951, the following were declared to be the main functions which the Assembly was called upon to perform:—

- (a) the decision on the question of the state accession;
- (b) to devise the Constitution for the future governance of the state.

As stated earlier the state acceded to the union of India on Oct. 26, 1947. There may be no doubt that it was complete both in facts & law. This was re-affirmed from time to time by the Indian leaders as well as the state govt.



Finally an unambiguous provision has been made in the Constitution declaring that the State of J & K is and shall remain an integral part of the Union of India. This decision has been arrived at by the leaders of the state after due deliberation and careful thought & is supported by the will & determination of the people of the State & the people of India rather by all the peace loving people of the world.

Constitutional set up of the state is based on democratic principles and as has been stated in the preamble the aim is to secure to all us:—

Justice, social, economic & political;

Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith & worship;

Equality of status & of opportunity; and to promote among us all

Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual & the unity of the nation;

These are the essential principles recognised by all the democratic countries of the world and a true democracy can be build up only on these foundations. This cannot be treated as mere pious declaration because in Part IV of the Constitution some directives have been laid down which it would be essential for the govt



to follow ~~up~~ in day to day working. These  
directive principles of state policy are a sort  
of Beacon Light to guide the executive govt,  
to tread on the right path.  
Private sector protected.

while the prime object of the state will be  
promotion and welfare of the masses by establishing  
and preserving a socialist order of society, care  
has been taken to preserve and protect the  
private sector where means of production will  
be owned by an individual or by cooperative  
societies employing labour.

The state has undertaken to organise  
and develop agriculture, animal husbandry, village  
panchayats, renowned art and craft and  
cottage industries of the state. In section 14 of the  
Constitution the right to work and public assistance  
in certain cases has been assured to all men  
and women equally.

Similarly it will be the duty of  
the state to improve public health and to  
provide free education upto University standard  
and to provide compulsory education for all  
the children until they complete the age of ~~13~~  
14 years. To all the workers and labourers  
working in factories and other places the right  
to work with payment of wages in  
accordance with the quantity and quality  
of work, subject to the basic minimums and  
maximum wage established by law has been  
granted. They have also been assured just  
& human conditions of work with full  
employment of leisure & social & cultural



opportunities. They will also have adequate maintenance in old age as well as in the event of sickness, disablement in employment and other cases of undeserved want. The state will also ensure to its workers and employees adequate facilities for adult education & part time technical professional & vocational courses.

The children & the youth who are the citizens of tomorrow have been guaranteed a happy childhood with adequate medical care and attention, equal opportunities in education & employment, protection against exploitation & against moral or material abandonment. Similarly women folk are no longer to be treated in any way inferior to men. They will have the right to equal pay for equal work. The following will be their special & exclusive rights: —

- (a) the right to maternity benefits as well as adequate medical care in all employments;
- (b) The right to reasonable maintenance, extending to cases of married women who have been divorced or abandoned;
- (c) the right to full equality in all social education, political & legal matters;
- (d) Special protection against discourtesy, defamation, hooliganism & other forms of misconduct.



## Equality

The key-note of the state's social structure however, will be the fraternity, brotherhood and equality among all communities of the state & the state will be duty bound to combat ignorance, superstition, fanaticism, communalism, racialism & cultural backwardness.

It is sure that the state's future economic structure coupled with its development programme will lead to the raising of the standard of living of the masses. Side by side the people of the state have been assured all those fundamental rights which are available to the citizens of India under part III of the constitution of India which has been made applicable to the state since 14th May, 1954. Mainly these fundamental rights can be grouped as following: -

- i) right to equality
- ii) right to freedom
- iii) right against exploitation
- iv) Right to freedom of religion.
- v) Cultural & educational rights
- vi) right to Constitutional remedies

The Legislature of the state will consist of two Houses to be known as the Legislative Assembly & Legislative Council. The Legislative Assembly will have one hundred elected members, 25 of whom will be from the area at present under the illegal occupation of Pakistan.

It is intended to have first general elections under the new constitution.



Simultaneously with other States of India. The elections will be held on the basis of adult franchise & every adult man & woman of 21 years age will have right to vote.

The upper house of the Legislative Council will consist of 36 members. Judiciary of the State under the new Constitution of the State has been brought at par with its counterpart in the rest of India. This has been done for the first time in the history of the State.

The judges of the H. Court will be appointed by the President of India & steps have been taken to separate completely the judiciary from the executive. Similarly for the recruitment to the services of the State, the public service commission will be constituted. It will function on the same lines as its contemporaries in the rest of India.

The Commission is duty bound to present annually to the Sardar-i-Riyas a report as to the work done by the Commission & the Sardar-i-Riyasat will cause a copy of that report along with a memorandum explaining reasons for not accepting the advice of the Commission placed before the Legislature. This again is a step for



ward & has been taken in the State for the first time.

The Constitution also provides for setting up of an Academy of Arts, Culture & Languages where opportunities will be afforded for the development of Hindi, Urdu & other Regional language of the State.

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HINDUSTHAN STANDARD

Calcutta / Delhi.

26th Jan. 1957.

(Delhi Edition).

### The Constitution of New Kashmir

The establishment of the J&K Constitution C. A in Sept. 1951 was an event of great significance in the political history of the State. Elections to the Assembly were held on the basis of universal adult franchise.

The Assembly which was invested with the authority of a constituent body reflecting the wishes and aspirations of people addressed itself of four main tasks:—

- (a) to decide the future of the Royal Dynasty at in the State;
- (b) to take a decision on the question of payment of Compensation to the landholders dispossessed of their lands as a result of the State's land reforms;
- (c) decide the future affiliation of the State and (d) to draw up a Constitution for the future governance of the State.



Accordingly, the C.A. set up its Basic Principles Committee, Fundamental Rights Committee & Land Compensation Committee. The recommendations of the Basic Principles Committee led to the abolition of hereditary rule in the State.

### Land reforms

The C.A. also adopted unanimously the report and recommendations of Land Compensation Committee which declared:

“The tillers to whom the excess land from which the big proprietors are expropriated is transferred in ownership right, are an indigent, impoverished and much-exploited class by themselves. No question of recovering the price of the lands from them does arise.

As a State with limited resources we are too poor to pay compensation from out of the State Revenues.

The financial liability will be of a very serious nature and payment itself will prove incalculably ~~mischievous~~ <sup>mischievous</sup>. A part from these considerations ~~there~~ there is no moral, economic or social basis for compensation.

“We, therefore, recommend that both in principle and policy, the payment of compensation to the expropriated proprietors is not desirable. The payment of compensation would perpetuate the present inequality



in equitable distribution of wealth."

This decision of the C. A. was hailed in the state as an outstanding contribution to the cause of social justice and to the building up of New Kashmir. The C. A. also adopted a flag & emblem for the state. In Feb. 1954

the C. A. ratified the decision of the state's accession to India, made in Oct. 1947.

This decision which was constitutionally and legally complete, was given formal sanction of the people of J & K as reflected through their democratically elected C. A. It thus ended uncertainty about the future of the state.

### President's order

on the recommendation of the state C. A. the president of the Union of India issued on May 14, 1954 the Constitution (Application to J & K) Order, 1954.

Some of the broad features of the presidential order are:

No action can be taken by the Union Parliament for increasing or diminishing the area of the state or altering its name without the consent of the state legislature. Permanent residents of the state who after having migrated to Pakistan, return to the state under a proper permit for resettlement, shall be deemed to be citizens of India.



discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth has been prohibited & the State Legislature has been granted the right to make special provisions for the advancement of socially and educationally backward classes of citizens.

All citizens living within the Territory of J & K State have the right to freedom of speech & expression, to assemble peaceably & without arms, to form associations or unions, to move freely throughout the Territory of J & K or to settle in any part of the Union, to acquire or dispose of property and to practise any profession.

The people of the State have been granted the right to move the Supreme Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of the Fundamental Rights. No existing law in force in the State of J & K and no law enacted by the State Legislature in future, defining the classes of persons who are permanent residents of the State or conferring on them special rights & privileges in respect of employment, acquisition of immovable property in the State, settlement in the State, or right of scholarships etc., shall be affected by any provisions of the Union Govt. Constitution.



The task of Constitution making entered a decisive phase when on Oct. 10, 1956, the Drafting Committee presented the Draft Constitution to the C. A. The Assembly discussed the Draft Constitution for more than a month. The Constitution was finally ~~adopt~~ approved & adopted Unanimously on ~~Nov~~ Nov. 17. It will come into effect on January 26, 1957.

The Constitution fulfils the long-felt needs & aspirations of the people of the state. It declares the state of J & K "an integral part of the union of India". The territory of the state will comprise all the territories which on August 15, 1947 were under the sovereignty or suzerainty of the Ruler of the state.

The executive & legislative powers of the state will extend to all matters except those with respect to which Parliament has powers to make laws for the state under the provisions of the Constitution of India.



Indian Express 26-1-1957.

C. A. Dissolved

Balakshi Accuses west of political Bias.

Jammu. Jan. 26.

On the stroke of Midnight the Five and a Half-year-old Lashmir C. A. set its ceremonial Seal of Approval to the State's New Constitution & Re-affirmed to the world that the State is and shall remain an integral part of India.

The C. A., which finally adopted a 158 clause Constitution on Nov. 17 last, dissolved itself at the conclusion, at midnight of its historic function.

In a momentous address to the House, Balakshi Gihulam Mohamomed the Lashmir Premier said: one of the factors responsible for our decision to convene the C. A. was failure of the U.N. S.C. to undo the wrong of aggression perpetrated by Pakistan upon the people of our State. Of which she continues to enjoy fruits. No amount of legal quibbling will wipe away the memory of death & destruction, which the people of J & K have suffered as result of invasion.



" I do not wish to sit in judgement upon the conduct of various powers but it does strike us as something odd and extraordinary that, while these powers of have hastened to take notice of aggression in other parts of the world, they have failed to take a similar attitude in regard to J & K :

He concluded : " Aggression is aggression whether it takes place in Korea, Egypt or Kashmir. Keeping in view of the ~~alt~~ attitude of these powers on the issue of Pakistan's aggression on Kashmir, we should be perfectly justified if we regard their views as biased & totally divorced from considerable consideration of justice & equality. So far as this issue is concerned."

Tribune

Ambala

26/1/57

Kashmir Assembly Dissolved :

Constitution Adopted

(From our own correspondent).

Jammu, Jan. 25.

The new Constitution for J & K as adopted by the C. A. on Nov. 17 last was formally launched to-night and after a brief session the Assembly dissolved itself as the clock struck 12.



After the dissolution the Assembly under section 150 of the new Constitution automatically became provisional Legislature for the State until a new Legislature comes into being after the impending general elections.

Members of the plebiscite Front were absent. The Provisional Legislature will meet on January 28.

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Bombay Chronicle

Bombay

26/1/57

Red Letter Day for Kashmir.

January 26. This year has a special significance both for the Union as well as its northern most component State of J & K.

Today this integral part of the Indian Union enters a new phase in its history with the full commencement of its recently adopted Constitution.

That the people of J & K have chosen January 26 as the date for the full enforcement of their constitution is evidence of the ~~em~~ emotional integration of the State & the rest of India whose political aspirations and economic goals have been identical



- throughout the freedom struggle as also after independence.

### Assembly.

The Convening of a C. A. of the State which was established in Sept. 1951, had been envisaged both in the Indian Constitution (Art 237) and the Proclamation of the Rules of March 5, 1948 when the first representative govt. in the state was formally installed.

While the people of Kashmir through a resolution in October 1948 at the Special Convention of their popular organisation, the N. C. pledged fullest support to final accession to India on the basis of "New Kashmir," they welcomed the initial reference to the S. C. against Pakistan's aggressions as affording an opportunity of demonstrating the propriety and correctness of their decision to accede to India.

However, after having waited patiently and in vain for three years and failing to secure effective action by the U. N. to clear the occupied areas of the aggressor, the General Council of the N. C. met in Oct. 1950 to re-examine the position.

To ensure that the people were no longer denied the opportunities of progress afforded to them by virtue of being a part & parcel of the Indian Union the General Council recommended to the Supreme National Executive of the people to take steps for Convening a C. A.



## Elections

After the elections were held in Sept. 1951, in a democratic manner on the basis of universal adult suffrage, the 75 members C. A. had its first sitting on Oct. 31, 1951 at Srinagar.

Addressing the elected representatives from all parts of the state, the then leader of the House said: -

"You are the sovereign authority in this state of Kashmir; what you decide has the irrevocable force of law."

The C. A. addressed itself to four tasks: (a) To draw up a Constitution for the governance of the state

(b) To decide the future of the ruling dynasty;

(c) To take a decision on the question of compensation to landlords dispossessed of their lands as a result of land reforms in the state, and

(d) To take recommended further action following from the state's accession to India



Times of India

Bombay / Delhi.

26/1/57

The Conseably is dissolved.

Kashmir now a part of India

not Defenceless.

The new Constitution, which replaced the 17 years old Constitution of the State framed during the Maharaja's time but amended many times since, came into force at one minute past midnight."

Hindustan Times New Delhi.

26 Jan. 1957.

New Constitution for Kashmir

Signat. Jan. 25.

The people of J & K are preparing with



# J&K's New Constitution Enforced

## Celebrations Conclude.

Illuminations and prayers

Bakshi Receives Messages of Congratulations

Srinagar Jan. 26.

The celebrations in connection with the enforcement of the State's new Constitution concluded here to night. In spite of heavy snowfall in the evening fireworks were held in Srinagar city and in all principal towns of the State to mark the conclusion of the ceremonies.

All public buildings and bridges spanning the Jhelum and a large number of private buildings were illuminated. A special feature of the illuminations at the National Conference headquarters was that the portraits of Mahatma Gandhi, Prime Minister Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and several other leaders were decorated with lights. The hills overlooking the city were also turned into a blaze of colour. Several workers of the National Conference and cultural organisations today distributed sweets among children in the traditional Kashmiri way.

The two-day celebrations to mark the coming into being of the new Constitution of J & K began here last night.

In spite of the severe cold thousands of people flocked to temples, mosques &



gurdwaras to offer prayers for the success of the new Constitution.

Report from Ladakh added that the lamas offered prayers in monasteries.

A Jammu message said that similar celebrations were held there also.

Several public buildings and graveyards of those who died in the state's freedom struggle were brightly illuminated.

The new Constitution for J & K as adopted by the C. A. on Nov. 17 last, was formally launched last night and after a brief session, the Assembly dissolved itself as the clock struck 12.

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Bombay: Kashmiri residents in Bombay celebrated the Republic Day with great enthusiasm at a function held at the Kashmiri Group, Art Emporium here to-day.

Hundreds of telegrams were sent on the occasion to Bal喀什 Ghouse Khan Mohammad, P. M. of Kashmir congratulating on the formal adoption of the Constitution framed by J & K. C. A.

Amritsar About 1500 Kashmiri Muslims celebrated the inauguration of the new Constitution day here to-day by offering prayers at three mosques.



They also marched into a procession through the main streets of Amritsar raising slogans of "Nehru Zindabad" "Bakashi Zindabad" & "Bharat Aur Kashmir Ek Hai".

Mr. Mani Ram, Kashmiri trade agent, held a party at his office where these Kashmiri Muslims were entertained to tea. They exchanged greetings with each other.

Mr. Mani Ram assured the gathering that they need not be panicky while in Amritsar about their hearths & homes in Kashmir. He said that India would not permit any intruder to do any harm to the Kashmiris.

Chandigarh : A largely-attended public meeting was organized here by the Kashmiri Welfare Association to celebrate the enforcement of the new Constitution in J&K today. Amid thunderous cheers & shouts of "Pandit Nehru Zindabad" & "Bakshi Gulab Mohanmad Zindabad" the meeting passed resolutions expressing full confidence in the newly promulgated Constitution. The resolution said that the accession of the State of J&K to India had now been finalised & completed & that no force on earth could separate the two.



Leader

Allahabad

Dt 30/1/57.

(1st Date Edition)

From Accession to Integration

Story of Jashmir Constitution

January 26 is a great and glorious day for the Indian Union and January 26 of the year 1957 has added significance both for the Union as well as its ~~with~~ most next-most Component State of J & K.

Today this integral part of the Indian Union, enters a new phase in its history with the full commencement of its recently adopted Constitution. That the people of J & K have chosen January 26, as the date for the full enforcement of their Constitution in evidence of the emotional integration of the State and the rest of India whose political aspirations and economic goal have been identical throughout the freedom struggle as also after independence.

Convening of Assembly.

The Convening of a C. A. of the State, which was established in Sept. 1951, had been envisaged both in the Indian Constitution (Art 370) and the proclamation of the March ruler on March 5, 1948, when



when the first representative govt in the state was formally installed. while the people of Kashmir through a resolution in Oct. 1948 at the Special Convention of their popular organisation, the National Conference, "pledged fullest support to final accession to India on the basis of New Kashmir, they welcomed the initial reference to the S.C. against Pakistan's aggression as affording an opportunity of demonstrating the propriety & correctness of their decision to accede to India. However, after having waited patiently in vain for three years and failing to secure effective action by the U.N. to clear the occupied areas of the aggressor, the General Council of the N.C. met in Oct. 1950 to re-examine the position. To ensure that the people were no longer denied the opportunities of progress afforded to them by virtue of being a part & parcel of the Indian Union, the General Council recommended to the supreme national executive of the people to take steps for convening a C.A.

After the elections were held in Sept. 1951, in a democratic manner



on the basis of universal adult suffrage, the 75-member C.A. had its first sitting on Oct. 31, 1951, at Srinagar.

The C.A. addressed itself four tasks: -

- (a) to draw up a Constitution for the governance of the state.
- (b) to decide the future of the ruling dynasty
- (c) to take a decision on the question of Compensation to landlords dispossessed of their lands as a result of land reforms in the state; &
- (d) To recommend further action flowing from the states' accession to India.

As the work of Constitutional making started and the Constitution had to be drawn up in precise terms, it became necessary to give effect to certain interim provisions as per recommendations of the Basic Principles Committee. This involved certain changes in the Indian Constitution as applicable to the state and an agreement had to be reached between the state & the Centre after dealing with the matters at length. It may be recalled here that the initial accession of Kashmir was as in the case of other states in respect of these subjects - foreign relations,



defence and Communications.

## July Agreement.

What is known as the July Agreement of 1952 was arrived at after consultations of the Union & the State. The agreement, which related to the issues of Residual powers, Ori-citizenship, Fundamental Rights, Supreme Court, Emergency provisions, Headship of the State etc, was endorsed both by the Union parliament & the C.A. of the State.

It was under the present Govt headed by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammd that the process of Constitution-making was expedited. The Co. A set up its Drafting Committee & the Committee on Fundamental Rights. In March the C.A. ratified the State's final accession to India & subsequently the Presidential order of May 14, 1954 was incorporated in the Indian Constitution. This was a mile-stone in Indo-Cashmiri relationships enabling the State to share in full measure the assistance and cooperation of the Union Govt, in the task of economic development. The stupendous engineering achievement, Banihal tunnel - the western western tube of which was thrown open to traffic last Dec. was but one of the



many economic benefits accruing to the state people as a result of their irrevocable decision of accession.

### Constitution Adopted

The Draft Constitution of the State was presented to the C. A. on Oct 10, 1956. It was adopted on Nov. 17 by a majority of 68 members in a House of 75. The Constitution of the State comes into effect in January 26, 1957 the eighth birthday of the Republic of India.

It will thus be seen that the adoption of a Constitution by the people of the State is the natural result of a process which started with the accession of the State to India in 1947. The Constitution itself follows a pattern not different from that of the Constitution of India. It is in complete consonance with the assurances exchanged in the past between the Union & the State & represents only a logical step towards their fulfilment.

In keeping with the former pledges which have been honoured unwaveringly by both sides, the Constitution provides slightly wider powers for the State Legislature than similar bodies in other parts of the country. An elected Sadar-i-Riyasat



a separate Election Commission or some provisions conferring special rights on permanent residents in respect of employment & acquisition of immovable property etc. are

all provided for after agreement with the Union govt, & flow from the special position granted to the state under the Constitution of India.

### Basic oneness

✓ In regard to all basic matters, the State Constitution is at one with the Indian Constitution. It provides for a parliamentary form of govt, a bi-cameral legislature, adult suffrage, & independent judiciary, a public service commission, the Directive principles of state policy & other democratic principles of fundamental rights, the jurisdiction of Supreme Court & the authority of the Comptroller & Auditor-General, the state is like any other in the Union. The state's official language is Urdu which is one of the Indian languages recognised in the Constitution. The Directive principles of state policy are also modelled



along those in the Constitution of India.  
the State is to establish & preserve a  
Socialist order of Society. The Constitution  
has a firmly secular basis.

The Constitution, in short is, not only  
a permanent expression of the political  
and economic aspirations of the people  
of Kashmir but also underlines the identity  
of these ideals & aspirations of the  
people of the State & the rest of the  
Union.

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### The Daily Tribune

29-1-1957.

"we became part of India in 1947"

Kashmir Consensus President's speech.  
(From our own Correspondence)

Jammu Jan. 26.

Before the dissolution of the state  
e. A. last night, Late Khawaja Ghulam  
Mohd. Sadiq president of C. A, addressing  
the members said, "it is a historic day for  
us all. Five years past people of the State  
had decided to carve their destiny themselves  
and in accordance with that decision  
had set up this C. A with a very big



task or dained for it. For five years we were struggling & whatever duties were given to us we fulfilled them.

There were many important problems before the Consenbly & all of them were solved successfully. The biggest question which it had been authorised to decide was as to what should be the future shape of the state and what would be the basis of its Constitution "

Speaking in very measured & sober tone the president of the C. A. said, " These five years were not tranquil for us. There were many ups & downs throughout. Finally on Nov. 17, 1956 we completed the Constitution & resolved, that on January 25, 1957 after having finished its task, the Consenbly shall stand dissolved.

### Grand Task.

He said amidst loud cheers, "I can proclaim with pride that the task complete by the Consenbly is a grand one. World is aware as to under what adverse circumstances we have



Completed this function. Now onward we should all put our energies for the implementation of those desires of the people which have been given expressions to in this Constitution." He went on to point out "From the very time the sovereignty was transferred to the people efforts are being made to put impediments in our way. Even now some people wanted to close their eyes to the realities. But no power, however, great it may be can put the hands of the clock back. During this brief period important changes have taken place in the circumstances but some friends do not wish to keep abreast of them. People of the State have decided their fate & the C.A. gave it a Constitutional shape. When any nation takes a step with a determination no power on earth can undo that."

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### Britishers Avenge

Mr. Mir Dasim, State Revenue Minister, speaking in the Council, said, "Overwhelming majority of world population will support us in



what we are doing." He added that ever since the Britishers were forced out of this sub-Continent attempts were being made by them to avenge themselves & that was why they divided India, that was why they were making military pacts & that is why weapons were being piled up today in Palestine."

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Leader  
Allahabad

28 Jan. 1957.

(1st Dale Edition)

A Great Task Accomplished (Editorial)

Jan 25, 1957, is a memorable date in the history of modern Kashmir. Addressing the Kashmir N. C. in June 1951 Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad said, "The Country is shortly proceeding to elect a Supreme & Sovereign Assembly of representatives of the people entrusted with the work of laying the foundations of just & democratic social order in the State." The Assembly completed its task on Jan. 25. on that date the C. A.



held its final meeting and the Constitution it has prepared came into force at midnight. Impartial persons will admit that the Assembly has accomplished its task with great ability. The main principles on which the Constitution is based are Democracy, equality & social & economic justice. Though about 80% of the people of Kashmir are Muslims the Constitution of Kashmir unlike the Constitution of Pakistan, does not say that Kashmir is an Islamic State. This is so because the people of Kashmir like those of the rest of India believe in secular Democracy. Another notable feature of the Constitution is that it has settled finally the question of accession.

It may seem that the Assembly took an unconscionably long time, about five years and a half, to prepare & pass the Constitution. The preparation of the Constitution of Kashmir is a much easier task than the preparation of the Constitution of the whole of the Indian Union.

The Indian C. A. took less than three years to get ready India's Constitution.



Kashmir's new Constitution should have  
come into force three years ago. But the  
Kashmir Assembly is not to blame for the  
long delay. Disruptive forces were at  
work in Kashmir. Their leaders who  
received encouragement from foreigners  
was advised to set up as a Shahenshah.  
If the plan had succeeded, the head  
of the state, the so-called Shahenshah,  
would have been a Western puppet &  
Kashmir who would have become a  
Western base. But timely action by  
Sadr-i-Riyasat nipped mischief in the  
bud. Yuvraj Karam Singh asked Bakshi  
Ghulam Mohd. to form a new Cabinet. One  
of the first things the new P.M. did after  
his appointment was to stress the need for  
expediting the Constitution. He said, "We  
would like to make it clear that the  
future of the state is inherently linked  
with its political aspirations & democratic  
traditions. The primary task before the  
people of the J&K is to evolve the  
suitable pattern in incorporating these



ideals & traditions." we congratulate  
the C. A. on the accomplishment of this  
great task.

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Dawn.  
17/2/57.

"Constitution of Chain of Slavery"  
Kashmir Political Conference  
issued a pamphlet.

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Rawalpindi Feb 16.

The Kashmir Political Conference  
has issued a pamphlet entitled "Constitution  
of Chain of Slavery" on the so called  
Constitution of Kashmir.

This pamphlet was printed at  
Allahabad and was distributed all over  
occupied Kashmir on Jan 26. It called  
upon all parties to intensify the freedom struggle  
and not to rest until the exercise of the right  
of self-determination through a free &  
fair plebiscite is a chance.

The text of the pamphlet is as following.



" The Bakshi Govt has fixed Jan 26, 1957 as the date of enforcing the so-called Constitution. The Kashmiri patriots know it fully well that this Constitution has been passed by an "assembly" which does not represent anyone. It is impossible to get any example of the conditions, in the history of the world which were created for these elections.

" The assembly elections were faked under Indian bayonets. Civic life was curbed by the ignominious all-ill-famed defence rules & security Act. All the opposition parties or individuals were put behind the bars.

" Such lawlessness and subversive atmosphere was created that the opposition parties had to boycott these elections. If any individual dared to contest the elections, his nomination papers were cancelled on flimsy and ridiculous excuses with the result that all the 75 nominees of the ruling Jantar were declared elected unopposed.

1. At the time of these elections the ruling party had ~~decide~~ declared

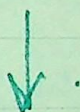


that the "Assembly" would decide the accession issue also. On this an objection was raised in the S.C. & the Baharati representative Sir B. N. Pande, had to give an assurance in unambiguous words that this assembly will not be empowered to give any verdict on the accession issue."

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File C-15 II

Constitution of Kashmir 1956.



Delhi Times — Delhi.

2-11-1956.

Historic Landmark in Progress of Kashmir State

Balkash Grahulam Mohammedi's statement in C.A.

With the introduction of the draft constitution in J & K C.A. the state is entering a decisive phase on the path democracy & progress, declares Balkash Grahulam Mohd. He added that "this marks a historic landmark in the history of J & K. In his statement placed on the table of the House on Oct. 25, 1956. He added that this



marks a historic landmark in the history of the state & on this occasion it is worthwhile to remind ourselves of the sacrifices & struggle of the people of the State during the past two decades for the establishment of the order based on justice & equality which this constitution seeks to promote & preserve."

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The Pakistan Times

Nov. 14, 1956

Indian Bid To impose Constitution

Azad Kashmir leaders discuss serious situation

Rawalpindi Nov. 13: The Azad Kashmir Cabinet held an emergency meeting here today to consider the serious repercussions of the imposition of a fraudulent constitution by the Indian-Sponsored Govt. in occupied Kashmir."

The members of the cabinet later met Ch. Gulam Abbas and remained with him for two hours.



The Tribune - Amritsar.

17 Nov. 15, 1956.

Third Reading Begins today.

Kashmir Draft Constitution

Srinagar Nov. 14.

The Kashmir C. A. today completed clause-by-clause discussion of the Draft Constitution for the State.

The Assembly will begin the third reading tomorrow.

Times of India 17 18-11-1956

~~Adopts State Constitution.~~

• Kashmir Constituent Assembly

Adopts State Constitution.

Srinagar Nov. 17

The Constituent Assembly today unanimously approved & adopted the Constitution for Jammu & Kashmir declaring that the State would ever remain an integral part of the Union.

Sixty-two of the 75 members were present in the House.

Ex-Premier Sheikh Abdullah is under detention along with three others. Four other members belong to the Plebiscite front which announced last month their boycott of the Assembly proceedings.



After the passage of the Constitution, the premier, Bakshi Ghulam Mohd., was felicitated by members & others.

Glasgow Herald

19 Nov. 1956.

Pakistan protest  
over Kashmir

New York, Sunday.

Pakistan ~~South~~ has told the United Nations S. C. that it takes a grave view of press reports that the Kashmir. C. A. have declared Kashmir to be an integral part of India as from yesterday.

The Constitution was drafted to apply to the whole of J & K State although about one-third is held by Pakistan and the State is still divided by a cease-fire line along which fighting between India and Pakistan stopped seven years ago.



Mohammad H. Khan, Pakistan's permanent U. N. representative, in a letter to the S. C. president to-day asked that India be ~~remain~~ reminded of her obligations under U. N. ~~ch~~ resolutions on the Kashmir dispute. The letter did not ask for immediate action by the S. C., but reserved the right to introduce the issue formally later.

X

Dawn - Karachi

27 Nov. 19, 1956.

Srinagar C.A.'s Accession Shunt.

Sukrawardy's triple warning to Bharat.

In a triple warning from aboard the president's Viscount en route to Baghdad, the Prime Minister, Mr. H. S. Sukrawardy, has told Bharat that:

1. Pakistan will never recognize the right of the so-called C. A. of occupied Kashmir State to decide the issue of Kashmir accession;
2. If the Govt. of Bharat break the int. agreement on the holding of a fair and impartial plebiscite to decide the future of Kashmir, to which they are a party, they will stand condemned before the bar of world opinion, and will endanger peace in this part of the world and



3. the only result of the Bharati Govt's latest action in taking shelter behind the subterfuge of a decision on the future of Kashmir by the Srinagar Assembly "will be deterioration of Pakistan - Bharati relations, and further aggravation of the situation in Kashmir."

In a statement radiated from the Viscount on Sunday soon after the news of the adoption of occupied Kashmir's "Constitution" by the Srinagar Assembly was received, the P. M. declared:

#### U N C I P R E S O L U T I O N .

"The question of accession is open and will remain open till it is declared by means of a free & impartial plebiscite to be held in accordance with the U N C I P (U N Commission for India and Pakistan) resolutions of August 13 1948 & Jan 5, 1949."

After recalling that the Bharati Govt. themselves had repudiated the validity of any pronouncement by "this spurious Assembly" on the accession issue, the P. M. describe "this latest move of the Govt. of Bharat to secure from this self-styled Assembly a verdict which has no justification"



Judicial value, in order to give themselves an excuse for not holding a plebsicite & as also "pathetic and mischievous".

challenge to U.N.

He was confident that the S.C. will not permit "this challenge to its authority" to remain unanswered & will take concrete steps to meet the situation."

~~✗~~  
The Pakistan Times 27 Nov. 19,  
1956

plebsicite also can decide accession issue

~~✗~~  
Srinagar C.A. not entitled to  
Legislate for people.



Hindustan Standard  
Calcutta

20 - 11 - 1956

new constitution of Kashmir  
Signed by Constituent Members.

Srinagar Nov. 19 - Members of the Kashmir  
C. A. today signed the state's new  
Constitution amidst thunderous cheers.

The first to sign was the  
President of the C. A. Mr. G. M. Sadiq.  
He was followed by the Premier Bakshi  
Ghulam Mohd. Each member signed four  
copies. Of these one copy would be sent  
to the National Archives of India. one  
will be the property of C. A. & another  
copy will be kept in the Kashmir  
Museum.

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Hindustan Standard  
Calcutta

20/11/56

Lakshmi Welcomes new Kashmir  
Constitution



Srinagar Nov. 20. Ladakh's Head  
Lama and Deputy Minister for Ladakh  
Affairs in Kashmir Cabinet, Kushok Bakula  
said in an interview today that the Lama and  
of Ladakh was highly pleased & satisfied  
with the State's new Constitution.

Hindustan Standard

20-11-1956.

New Constitution of Kashmir

Signing Ceremony

Srinagar Nov. 19 — The members of the  
Kashmir C.A. today signed the State's  
new Constitution amidst thunderous cheers.

The first to sign was the president  
of the C.A. Mr. G. K. Mahol. Sadig. He  
was followed by the Premier Bakshi Ghulam  
Mohol.

The visitors galleries were packed and  
a large number of people cheered the Kashmir  
Premier & members of the Assembly  
when they arrived to sign the Constitution.  
They raised slogans "Long live India" &  
"Long live Mehra & Bakshi".



The Dawn - Karachi.

Dt 28-12-1956

'C.A' Cannot Decide Kashmir's  
Fate.

## Afzal Beg's Condemnation

Rawalpindi: Dec 27 "The C.A. would be practising a political swindle in the name of Democracy if it passes the Draft Constitution" declared Mirza Afzal Beg in a speech before the Srinagar Assembly on Oct. 24 says a belated report coming from across the cease-fire line.

Mirza Afzal Beg said: Today you are giving a Constitution to the Country in the name of J & K. You are taking a decision so that Kashmir's accession, effected on Oct 26, 1947, may be ratified. What was the Preamble to the Instrument of accession signed on Oct 26, 1947? Had Maharaja Hari Singh the right to sign away our freedom? We may as well remember that in 1846 the British signed a document in favour of Maharaja for Rs 75 Lacs. Today you are called upon to sanctify this very



right to sell."

If you ratify this accession, the authority of Gulab Singh under the treaty of Amritsar to do as ~~the~~ he pleased with the people of Kashmir, after the expiry of three generations will stand acknowledged. All these long years we have been disputing this very right of Maharaja Gulab Singh & his heirs.

### Menon's Story

"In Mr. V. P. Menon's story of integration of the states you will find that when the accession deed was taken over to Delhi on Oct. 26 it was settled that the Maharaja Hari Singh's request to accede to India be accepted only provisionally, the ultimate decision was left to ~~be~~ be taken by the people of Kashmir later on. In addition to this there is Pandit Nehru's radio broadcast on Nov. 2, 1947, promising ascertainment of the wishes of the people & had been restored in the state. Later, in a statement in the House of Peoples on Nov. 7, 1952 Pandit Nehru accepted the principle of plebiscite in which all the nationals of J & K would participate. He said: "If the people of J & K want to sever ties with us they are free to do so."



"The fate of Kashmir will be decided by the people of the state themselves. We have made this promise not merely to the people of the state but to the entire world. We can neither afford to go back on our word nor would we do so."

Hari Singh's pledge.

"This promise of plebiscite has been repeated by India again & again."

Maharaja Hari Singh repeated this pledge on Nov. 5, 1951.

"You can very well refer to your refer to your own decision of Feb 4, 1954 at Jammu session which Pandit Nehru characterised as unilateral. Not mere against force not merely this, your own vote of no-confidence was also rejected by the Congress Parliamentary Party."

"Is not a further act of this kind fruitless on your part?"

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The Pakistan Times

27 15-12-1956.

Protest day through out ~~seep~~ occupied Kashmir  
Constitution rejected by people.

Nov. 14.



file

C = 15

Part I

Tribune, Ambala 1956  
New Constitution of Kashmir 8-7-1956

Parties Fighting Elections Must Accept Accession  
Accession.

New Delhi. July 26

The Constitution of J & K may  
debar political parties from taking part  
in the elections in the state unless  
they accept the accession of the state to  
India; it is understood.

Balraj Gohlam Mohd. P. M. of  
J & K, ~~state~~ has been holding talks with  
the prime Minister here on the draft  
Constitution of the State. The draft is  
~~at~~ the draft is expected before the  
to be finalised after talks with the P. M.  
and placed before the state's C. A. for  
approval ~~be long~~ before long.

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Times of India Delhi

12-7-1956

Kashmir's Draft Constitution  
Consideration by Conference body.

Srinagar, July 11, the first draft of  
Kashmir's new Constitution was placed  
before the National Conference Executive  
which started its two-day session here  
today under the presidency of Bakshi  
Mohammed.

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Times of India, Delhi

16-7-1956.

Kashmir Draft Constitution  
Bakshi To Meet Nehru.

Srinagar July 15, Kashmir's Constitution  
the final draft of which was completed  
last week by the drafting Committee of  
the C.A., will be taken to Delhi by  
Bakshi Ghulam Mohd. on July 20,  
when he goes to meet Pt. Nehru.



Balkashi Ghalam Mohal - will be accompanied by the Deputy Home Minister, Mr. D. P. Dhar, and some other members of the Drafting Committee.

It is learnt that after the broad outlines of the draft are vetted by the constitutional experts, final touches will be given by the Drafting Committee here.

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Tribune, Ambala :

19-7-1956

Pattern of Kashmir Constitution

National Conference's Directive to  
Constituents

Srinagar July 18 - The working Committee of the J & K National Conference has given a directive to its party in the State C. A about the pattern of Constitution to be framed in the State.

The Committee held prolonged discussion yesterday under the presidency of the Premier Balkashi Ghalam Mohal.



Earlier, the C. A's drafting committee met for four hours under the chairmanship of the Finance Minister Mr. G. L. Deyra to finalise draft Constitution.

Balkashi Ghulam Mohammed is flying to Delhi on July 21 to hold talks to Delhi with govt. of India.

Statesman Delhi

23-7-1956

Kashmir new Constitution

Srinagar. July 22, A tentative draft of Kashmir State's new Constitution is ready, it is learnt.

The Drafting Committee of the C. A met for four hours yesterday & completed the draft.

Balkashi Ghulam Mohd. who is expected to reach Delhi this evening, is carrying a copy of the draft with him.



it is learnt.

Members of the Drafting Committee are also expected to visit Delhi shortly for consultations with the Union Constitutional experts, it is understood. Since the proposed Constitution will contain a number of clauses relating to such local relationship consultations seem all the more necessary.

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Bombay Chronicle Chronicle  
Bombay.

25-7-56.

Dogra Mahasabha wants Autonomy  
For Jammu, Ladakh.

Jammu. July 23.

The Dogra Mahasabha the oldest organisation of the Dogras has demanded provincial autonomy for Jammu Province.

In a resolution passed by the Sabha, it has offered a draft as a Constitution for Kashmir separate from India.

When in other states, Indian Constitution has been made app-



the Dogra Mahasabha does not see any reason for a new procedure in the case of Kashmir.

But the resolution adds that if the ruling party wants to keep the state independent of the Indian Constitution the Dogra Mahasabha demands that all the three units viz Jammu province, Kashmir valley & the frontier districts of Ladakh should be given provincial autonomy.

In the same resolution the Mahasabha has expressed great dissatisfaction with the proposition of Jammu people in the State Govt. Services.

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states man Delhi

27-7-56.

Constitution of Kashmir.

Dogra's Statement.

Pandit Prem Nath Dogra, President of J & K Praja Parishad, in a statement in New Delhi on Wednesday, 27-7-56, expressed his dissatisfaction with the